

JPRS 76858

21 November 1980

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 140

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REAGAN'S 'ERRONEOUS' VIEWS ON 'TWO CHINAS' SCORNE

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 30 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Zhuang Zong [5445 4844]: "A Question of Principle Leaving No Room for Compromise--Refuting Reagan's Erroneous Statements on the Relationship Between the United States and Taiwan"]

[Text] American Republican Party presidential candidate Reagan sent the party's vice presidential candidate, Bush, to Beijing to "explain" his erroneous statements detrimental to the Chinese people regarding Sino-American relations. Bush stated over and over that Reagan hopes "to improve relations with the People's Republic of China" and will go in for "two Chinas." If there is any difference, it will be only "a question of semantics." However, just at the moment when he was busy making this explanation, Reagan in a speech in Los Angeles on 21 August, once again advocated establishing "official relations" with Taiwan, and "establishing an official liaison office of the U.S. Government" on Taiwan. On 25 August, at a press conference held jointly with Bush, who had just returned home, Reagan again further defended his wrong "two Chinas" position.

Reagan did not begin making such statements from this day. When China and the United States established diplomatic relations, he at once blamed the Carter administration for severing diplomatic and official relations with Taiwan. Moreover, Reagan over and over called Taiwan the "Republic of China." This was still less "carelessness" or a "slip of the tongue."

The relationship between China and the United States was founded on the basis of the political principle that there is only one China, and that Taiwan is a part of China. This principle, already written in the 1972 China-U.S. Shanghai Communique, was reaffirmed in the 1979 communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States. The development of Sino-American relations cannot for one moment depart from this basis. This is a question of principle involving China's territorial integrity and national sovereignty, and is the firm and unshakable stand of the Chinese Government and Chinese people. This principle leaves no room for compromise.

Reagan did not mention one word about the China-U.S. joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, but took the so-called U. S. "Taiwan Relations Act" as the basis for establishing "official relations" with Taiwan. The "Taiwan Relations Act" is a domestic law of the United States. Many aspects of this act run counter to the fundamental principle of the communique

on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States. Our government has more than once declared China's solemn stand against this act. Now Reagan is making a big issue of it, trying to force it on China and to turn the clock back in Sino-U.S. diplomatic relations. This is unacceptable to the Chinese people.

Reagan's erroneous stand on U.S.-Taiwan relations not only infuriates the Chinese people but also runs counter to the wishes of the American people. The normalization of relations between China and the United States came from the common wishes of peoples of the two countries, and it is not only in keeping with the interests of peoples of both countries but also related to the world situation. Everyone knows clearly that in the present world, if the United States fails to ally itself with China, West Europe, and Japan and gain support from the Third World, you cannot talk about effectively controlling the Soviet Union in worldwide expansion. The ones who are pleased with the sabotage of Sino-U.S. relations have to be the Soviet hegemonists. The Chinese people approach this problem from the point of view of the total situation of opposing hegemonism and maintaining world peace. It is not a question of China's having to look to the United States for help.

All knowledgeable persons in the world have seen that any action causing damage to Sino-U.S. relations is not a local issue. Reagan's erroneous stand not only has been criticized widely by public opinion in the United States but also has aroused the anxiety of many countries in the world. Reagan has placed himself in a tight corner. Whoever turns back the wheel of history will always run into a stone wall.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOVIET HEGEMONISM CALLED THREAT TO WORLD PEACE

Beijing BEIJING DAXUE XUEBAO (ZHEXUE SHEHUI KEXUE BAN) [BEIJING UNIVERSITY JOURNAL (PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE EDITION)] in Chinese No 4, 20 Aug 80 pp 23-29

[Article by Wei Shihua [7614 0013 5478]: "Oppose Hegemonism and Safeguard World Peace"]

[Text] For 30 years, our government and people have stood at the foremost front of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and hegemony and have made our own contribution to the safeguarding of world peace. Today, a great historic turning period has begun. To build our great motherland into a modern socialist power, for the lofty purpose of world security, stability, and human progress, we must continue to hold high the banner of peace and, along with the people of the world, struggle together in opposing hegemonism and safeguarding world peace.

Our Country's Foreign Policy Is a Foreign Policy of Peace

The socialist system ensures that our external policy will advocate peace and oppose aggression. War comes about with the appearance of private ownership of the means of production and the division of society into opposing classes; it is the direct continuation and development of such a private ownership system. Modern wars are brought about by imperialism and social-imperialism. But the goal of the proletarian revolution is to substitute socialism for capitalism, to eliminate the phenomena of man being exploited by man and man being oppressed by man, and thereby to eradicate the root cause of class exploitation and class oppression. Socialist countries have established a dictatorship of the proletariat, have realized public ownership of the means of production, and are equipped with broad domestic markets. They absolutely will not commit aggression against, or enslave, the people of other countries for the sake of seizing the world sales market, the areas of raw material production, and world hegemony. Also, after the proletariat and all the toiling people have seized state power, and especially after they have established a socialist system, they must elevate economic construction to the position of first importance, greatly develop social productive forces, and continue to satisfy the people's increasing needs in their material and cultural life. If a socialist country commits external aggression and contests for world hegemony, this not only violates the interests of other countries and peoples but, in the first place, goes against the very tasks of the proletarian dictatorship, sabotages the cause of its socialist revolution and socialist construction, and fundamentally violates the interests of its own people. For a socialist state under proletarian dictatorship, this is absolutely impermissible. After a socialist state has won

victory in its revolution, it must fulfill the duties of internationalism that we undertake, assist the revolutions of various countries of the world, and struggle together to eliminate from this earth the system of exploitation of man by man and to achieve the liberation of all mankind. But the liberation of the people of various countries is the business of the people of those various countries themselves. In any country, if there is no revolutionary situation there and the people there do not demand revolution, no one can create a revolution there. Therefore, while we carry out the principles of Marxist internationalism and sympathize with and support the revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries, we must also be faithful to Marxism-Leninism in the idea that "a revolution can neither be exported nor imported" (the spreading of revolutionary ideas transcends state boundaries). Nor will a socialist state adopt the approach of starting a war as a substitute for the revolutionary struggle of the people of another country. It is precisely the essence and characteristics of the socialist system itself which determine that what socialism demands is peace and not war. Lenin said: "Only the working class can, after the seizure of power, carry out a policy of peace in deeds and not just in words" ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 25, p 309). Lenin also said: "Even the smallest nation, without any arms, however weak and small it might be, can and should rest assured: apart from a desire for peace, we have no intention toward it" ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 122).

Our government has carried out a foreign policy of peace since the very first day of its establishment. In February 1953, Premier Zhou pointed out at the Fourth Session of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference: "Our policy of peace is determined by the people's democratic system of our state." According to our people's desire for peace and standpoint on the safeguarding of world peace, our first Constitution in 1954 clearly prescribed: "In international affairs, our firm and consistent policy is to strive for the noble cause of world peace and the progress of humanity." In February 1958, in his speech on the present situation and our foreign policy at the Fifth Session of the First National People's Congress, Premier Zhou once more repeated our firm and consistent policy of peace, saying that our state had since the very first day of its founding regarded the defense of peace as its sacred responsibility. For the past 30 years, we have always adhered to this policy of peace.

Shortly after the founding of New China, U.S. imperialism started an aggressive war against Korea, forcibly occupied our territory Taiwan, and evinced a boisterous attitude and overbearing posture in general.

At this important historic moment, we resolutely decided to aid Korea and resist America in order to protect our own country, and in July 1953 we were able to force U.S. imperialism to sign an armistice and thereby make an important contribution to peace in the Far East and the world. In 1954, Premier Zhou advocated, in response to imperialism's policy of aggression and war, the well-known Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence: mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, nonaggression, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. These principles became the foundation stone safeguarding world peace. They have exerted a profound and far-reaching influence in the international arena, and they are of great international significance. In 1954, our country participated in the Geneva Conference and made a contribution to the restoration of peace in Indochina. In 1955, Premier

Zhou led the Chinese delegation to attend the Asian-African Conference, which was of important historic significance. Along with delegates of other participating countries, Premier Zhou worked to have the conference pass the "Declaration on Promoting World Peace and Cooperation," or the "Ten Principles" of the Asian-African Conference, which became the fundamental principles for international dealings. From 1963 to 1964, Premier Zhou paid visits to 14 countries in Asia and Africa in order to seek friendship, increase understanding, and learn from each other. He issued the five principles governing mutual relations between our country and African countries as well as Arab countries, and also the eight principles on our aid to foreign countries, which creatively developed the five principles of peaceful coexistence, provided the norms for the establishment of good international relations, fully demonstrated our policy of peace, and enabled us to gain the respect of the world's countries and thus to have friends everywhere. In accordance with our friendship and good-neighbor policy, and on the basis of equitable negotiation and principles of mutual understanding and mutual concessions, we have satisfactorily solved the boundary questions between our country and most of our neighbors and have set an example in international dealings on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. With respect to disputes which exist between nations, including nations of the Third World, because of historical or other reasons our country has also stood, under the premise of facilitating the common [struggle] against imperialism, colonialism, and hegemonism, for peaceful solutions through patient and friendly negotiations, and not for a resort to force or threat of force. The Joint Declaration on the Establishment of Sino-Japanese Relations, the Sino-Japanese Treaty of Peace and Friendship, and the Communiqué on the Establishment of Sino-American Relations have all incorporated the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the content of antihegemonism. We are resolutely opposed to the aggression, subversion, control, and interference by imperialism and social-imperialism in countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and we warn the people of the world that they must maintain sufficient vigilance toward the danger of new wars of aggression which are likely to be started by the hegemonists, and that they must make preparations for them. This is of important significance to the safeguarding of world peace in the present world situation.

Chairman Mao's instruction that China has never wished to become a superpower is a general summing up of historical experience in the struggle between the two diplomatic lines fundamentally opposed to each other in the international arena; it is also the norm and guiding principle for our relations with foreign countries. While leading our people to resolutely oppose hegemonism, Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou at the same time repeatedly taught us not only that China will not seek to become a superpower today, but that she will not do so when she becomes economically strong in the future. China will never become a superpower. Chairman Mao also indicated to foreign friends face-to-face that if China should ever become a superpower, the people of the world should then attach to China the label of imperialism, and the people of the world and the people of China should unite together to oppose and overthrow Chinese hegemonism. All this demonstrates that our adherence to the policy of peace based on never becoming a superpower is absolutely not just a matter of expediency but a long-range, fundamental, national policy.

China's modern history is one in which China has been subject to aggression. Even today, China is still under the threat of aggression. In terms of fighting a world war, China neither has any reason, nor is she prepared, to do so. The Chinese people

have suffered the havoc of wars in full, and hence they love peace to the fullest extent. One of the points of departure of our proletarian foreign policy of peace is the delaying of the outbreak of another world war and the safeguarding of world peace. Our country has consistently held high the banner of peace and, along with the people of the world, has opposed imperialism's policy of aggression and war, has made untiring efforts to struggle for world peace, has exerted great influence, and has earned the praises of the people of the world. But there was a period when we, because of the interference of the extreme-leftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," failed to pay attention in our propaganda to putting emphasis on the safeguarding of world peace while exposing the root source of imperialist wars and telling the people of the danger of war. In order to conceal its true face of hegemonism, the Soviet Union also took the opportunity to oppose China, slandering China as "warlike"; this kind of anti-China lie of course cannot deceive the people of various countries of the world. In the era of imperialism, there are bound to be wars as long as imperialism exists; the danger of another world war exists objectively. From the realities and the development trend of the international situation, even though it looks as though the aggressive character of Soviet social-imperialism is unlikely to change and its forces of expansion are unlikely to become self-restrained, as long as our forces can continue to grow and become further strengthened, as long as we sharpen our sense of vigilance, make adequate preparations for our opposition to wars of aggression and consolidate as well as develop our antihegemonistic united front, promote the enhancement of antiwar forces, and fully expose and defeat every strategic deployment of Soviet hegemony, a postponement of an outbreak of war is entirely possible. The future of mankind and of the world is bright. In order to better adhere to, and carry out, our foreign policy of peace, Premier Hua, in his Report on the Work of the Government, at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress in June 1979, reiterated our principled stand on opposing hegemonism and safeguarding world peace. In taking opposition to hegemonism and the safeguarding of world peace as our fundamental foreign policy, we have not only grasped the crux wherein lies the principal contradiction of today's world, hit at the vulnerable spot of hegemonism, and profoundly exposed and solemnly criticized global hegemonism, but we have also eliminated the interference of the extreme-leftist line and genuinely restored the true identity of our foreign policy of peace. Since the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, we have in our external work held high the banner of opposition to hegemonism and of the safeguarding of world peace, opened up a new situation, and achieved conspicuous results. The reason why Premier Hua's visits to the four countries of Western Europe in 1979 were solemnly received and warmly welcomed by the governments and people of the four countries, and hence achieved complete success, was precisely because we set the goals of the visits in terms of "promoting understanding, strengthening friendship, expanding cooperation, and safeguarding peace." From this, it can be seen that in holding high the proletarian banner of a policy of peace, our approach has already played a major role in elevating our international status and in promoting the international struggle against hegemonism, and it will continue to play such a role in the future. Our analysis of the international situation is persuasive, our external policy is appreciated by people everywhere, and our international prestige is high.

Construction of Our Four Modernizations Requires a Sustained Peaceful International Environment

At present, and for a rather long historical period hereafter, our principal task is none other than to carry out socialist construction in a planned way and then to

take a step further to change our backward outlook and build our country into a modern socialist power. The destiny of our state and our nation hinges on whether or not we can realize the four modernizations within the present century. In order to realize this magnificent goal of the four modernizations, we must, apart from having as our guarantee a Marxist ideological line, political line, and organizational line, secure domestic and external conditions that are beneficial to the rapid launching of our peaceful construction. That is to say, domestically we need to maintain and develop a political situation of stability and unity, and externally we need a sustained peaceful international environment. As early as September 1954, Premier Zhou pointed out in his Report on the Work of the Government at the First National People's Congress: "All our efforts are designed to build our country into a prosperous, happy, socialist industrial state. As we carry out our peaceful labor, we demand a peaceful environment, a peaceful world. This basic fact determines a policy of peace in our foreign relations." From now on, so long as no large-scale invasion by an external enemy occurs, the work of modernization remains our central task. Therefore, gaining a peaceful international environment becomes an important premise for the realization of our four modernizations. With this condition present, our country can not only consistently adhere to our general line in the absence of an outbreak of war, but also carry out open-door international policies in a peaceful international environment and, under the premise of persisting in our independence and self-reliance, and through the international strengthening of cooperation and exchange, actively make use of foreign capital and the world's advanced achievements, import advanced science and technology, and thereby accelerate the pace of our four modernizations. During the past few years, we have gained major advances in our external work, and the situation of united opposition to hegemonism has already basically taken shape. The people of various countries of the world are all willing to make contributions to China's execution of her modernization plans. This is an international condition which was absent in the first 25 of the 30 years since the founding of our state. We should make use of this beneficial international condition, more speedily elevate our labor productivity and the level of the entire national economy, build our country into a modern socialist power, and make even greater contributions to the safeguarding of world peace. This tallies not only with the interests of the Chinese people but also with the interests of the people of the world.

Our socialist modernization construction requires a sustained, stable, peaceful international environment. When our country triumphantly reaches its goal at the end of this century, we will still need a peaceful international environment. By that time, our productive power will have greatly increased, but because our country is vast, our population large, and our foundation very weak, we must catch up with the developed countries of the world. In order to create an economic system higher than that of capitalist society, we need a long-range struggle lasting several generations so as to make a beginning through hard work. Our strategy is defensive. The realization of modernization in our national defense on the basis of modernization of the national economy consistently serves the defense of the cause of our socialist construction, our opposition to hegemonism, and our safeguarding of world peace. Upon our entry into the 21st century, when our outlook is going to undergo even greater change, we must still assert our firm and consistent stand to continue to carry out a foreign policy of peace with all forces and all methods at our disposal.

For the sake of construction, we need peace. But this kind of peace must be genuine peace under which the people of a country are not subject to aggression, interference, or abuse, and can all secure development and progress according to their wishes; it must not be a false peace under which we are subject to the threat of hegemonism or serious disturbances and sabotage of the serenity of our border areas. The realization of the four modernizations and the building of our country into a powerful socialist state serve to make it even harder for the expansionist ambition of the hegemonists to gain any ground. For this reason, either the big hegemonists or the small hegemonists will not resign to letting us work steadily and calmly toward our four modernizations. In this regard, we must have sufficient perception and full preparations. To realize the four modernizations is a great revolution in which are included the serious tasks of putting up resolute struggles against the aggression, threat, and sabotage of hegemonism. Our people never intend to threaten or commit aggression against anyone, but we will absolutely tolerate no threat or aggression imposed on us by others. In order to oppose aggression, there may come a time when we will spare no sacrifice and become forced to do what we ordinarily are not willing to do. Our defensive counterattack which repelled the Vietnamese aggressors and punished the aggressors was undertaken precisely to win a peaceful international environment and to maintain the peace and stability of the Southeast Asian and Asian-Pacific regions.

It Is Necessary To Oppose Hegemonism in Order To Safeguard World Peace

Safeguarding world peace and opposing hegemonism are the common desires and urgent demands of the people of every country. As the world enters the 1980's, the international situation has become more unstable and more tense; factors for war are still growing. The Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan is a serious escalation of Soviet aggression and expansion. It is a step further from the invasion of Czechoslovakia, as it has extended the notorious "theory of limited sovereignty" from the so-called "big family" to the nonaligned Islamic countries of the Third World; it has already escalated from behind-the-scenes plotting, utilization of agents, and organization of mercenaries to unabashed personal participation in battle and the direct dispatch of troops to invade another country; it has already developed from the undertaking of subversive activities and the propping up of puppet regimes to the glaring occupation of a sovereign country by armed forces. The Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan marked the entry to a new stage of Soviet social-imperialism in carrying out an offensive strategy. East of the Malacca Strait, which straddles the sealanes between the Pacific and the Indian Ocean, it has, by seizing the opportunity of Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea, extended its naval and air force bases 4,000 kilometers to the south, up to the China Sea and the Gulf of Siam. Thus, toward the south, it threatens the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and if necessary it is in a position to cut off the sealanes leading from the Indian Ocean to the Pacific. Toward the east, it is in a position to coordinate with its Far Eastern forces and establish a posture of pincer attack against Japan and the naval and air force bases of the United States in the Philippines; at the same time, it is also in a position to threaten China from both the south and the north. West of the Malacca Strait, it is intensifying the execution of its southward strategy, since, after securing control of the crucial Red Sea strait of Bab el Mandeb, it has invaded Afghanistan with its armed forces, begun to threaten Iran, Pakistan and the strategic narrow pass of the [Persian] Gulf, the Strait of Hormuz, and has moved forward to menace Saudi Arabia

on the Arabian Peninsula, thus linking up the "Crescent" from the Middle East to Southeast Asia. The Soviet Union is connecting its European strategic deployment with its strategy in Asia and the Pacific, forging a pincer offensive on the searoutes between the Pacific and the Indian Ocean, and gradually trying to assume a strategic posture whereby the eastern and western lines complement each other, so as to grab oilfields in the Gulf region, seize strategic spots, take a further step to threaten the "lifeline of the West," and ultimately outflank Europe along a roundabout route. This is a matter of life and death to the Western countries. At the same time, it is "perfecting" its strategic encirclement of our country in a vain attempt to realize its dream of world rule. This cruel fact of over a year's development of the international situation further proves that Soviet hegemonism is the principal source of war and a serious menace to world peace.

The pursuit of world hegemony is the purpose of the foreign policy of Soviet social-imperialism and a goal which it has "never changed, never overlooked." The Soviet Union is a latecomer to dinner with a great appetite for expansion and a fiery initial thrust. But because of the opposition of the people of the world, it has to spread a smokescreen of "detente" and has been forced to make gestures of "peace" in order to deceive the people. It also employs the tricks of "a thief crying 'stop thief'" and hoodwinking the world while stealing other people's reputation, in order to resort to hegemonism even more unscrupulously under the very signboard of antihegemonism, and to do all sorts of injurious and heinous things. Lenin taught us: Imperialist [countries'] wars are a continuation of their ordinary policy; peace is a continuation of their wartime policy. Insofar as the Soviet Union's hegemonism is concerned, peace is but an interval between two wars. It merely utilizes such intervals between military offensives to digest absorbed entities and to engage in more arms expansion and war preparations. With peaceful coexistence as its signboard from the mid-1950's to the end of the 1960's, it secured supreme rule in a separate sphere of its own, actively engaged in arms expansion and war preparations, and got ready to contest with the United States for hegemony throughout the whole world. Under the smokescreen of "detente" in the 1970's, it carried out an offensive strategy. After its armed invasion into Afghanistan, with the pressure of world public opinion vigorously demanding the Soviet Union withdraw its troops from Afghanistan, it is now unfolding a "peace" offensive, trying very hard to keep its foothold steady under expressions of "peace" in order to carry out the long-range military occupation of Afghanistan. To sum up: sometimes it uses the two arms of "detente" and expansion simultaneously and sometimes it uses them alternately, with the "peace" strategy as a supplement to its offensive strategy; it practises expansion in the name of "detente," with "peace" as a cloak and strategic offense as substance.

Opposing hegemonism and safeguarding world peace are two sides of the same coin. The struggle for peace and the struggle against hegemonism are inseparably connected. The point of departure for opposition to world hegemonism is the safeguarding of world peace. Hegemonism is nothing more or less than aggression, than war. Struggling to safeguard world peace means struggling to oppose the aggression policy and war policy of social-imperialism. Only by opposing hegemonism can we safeguard world peace. The question now is: In the face of this threat by Soviet hegemonism, what is the correct path for safeguarding world peace?

1. It is necessary for us to recognize the worldwide strategic intentions of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a world hegemonist. In order to realize its ambition of hegemony over the world, it has a clear world strategy. This strategy is namely an offensive one, with "disarmament," "detente," and "liberation of the people of various nationalities" as its signboard, military power as its foundation, the United States as its rival, and Europe as its center of gravity. Eyeing the whole world, and especially threatening the regions next to the West's core interests, it employs methods ranging from mainly fighting wars by proxy up to direct armed invasion, and it takes as its strategic aim the establishment of an unprecedented empire. In 1975, using Cuba as its mercenary, it stirred up civil war in Angola and carried out military occupation of Angola; in 1977, it twice instigated mercenaries to invade Zaire; in 1978, it seized the opportunity of conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia to expand its influence; in 1979, it supported Vietnam's large-scale invasion of democratic Kampuchea, so as to work for a "Federation of Greater Indochina" and to promote an "Asian collective security system." All this was designed to carry out its offensive strategy and constituted a component part of its world offensive strategy. The direct invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union this time was by no means an accidental event; it was a painstakingly planned and long-plotted strategic action. Under the situation of military confrontation and stalemate in the European and Asian regions, which is not easy to break at present, the Soviet Union succeeded in achieving a breakthrough by way of the "soft belly" and thus expanded swiftly southward. This was not only an indispensable step in its advance southward to the Indian Ocean by the land route, but also of direct service to its world strategy with Europe as the center of gravity, and it was at the same time beneficial to the linking of Southeast Asia, West Asia, South Asia, the Middle East and North Africa into a single front, and hence the realization of its worldwide strategic deployment. The Soviet Union has always had an established offensive strategy for achieving hegemony over the world, with Europe as its center of gravity. We should therefore have a clear strategic point of view, and we can only realistically consider and cope with the problems of our own country and region from the point of view of the whole situation, from the overview of strategy and not from the angle of an individual region or country. Only thus can we attach sufficient importance to each expansionist action on the part of the Soviet Union, see far and wide enough and adopt our correct standpoints and attitudes accordingly, and thereby formulate correct policies and practical steps to continue to throw the war plotter's expansionist plans into disarray and safeguard world peace. Contrariwise, if we look at but do not see the Soviet Union's world strategic intentions, and take its every expansionist action designed to realize worldwide strategic deployment as some "oozing strategy," some "opportunistic incident," and hence let it gain an inch and aspire to a foot, and let it press forward step by step each time, then wars will follow one another and disasters will continue until we ourselves incur some catastrophe.

2. We must resolutely support the Afghan people and the Kampuchean people in their struggle against the invaders. The Afghan people's struggle against the Soviet invaders and the Kampuchean people's struggle against big and small hegemonism are problems of the same nature; they are both just struggles in defense of national independence and state sovereignty. The struggles of the oppressed nations of Afghanistan and Kampuchea against foreign invaders and the struggle of the people of the world to oppose Soviet hegemonism and safeguard world peace are entirely consistent with one another. The very fact that big and small hegemonism have

committed armed invasion in two sovereign states today is itself a serious threat to peace. If their aggression is tolerated, it will not only be of no help to the safeguarding of peace but will also surely bring about the dangers of expanded aggression and acceleration of another world war. Therefore, the adoption by peace-loving people and countries the world over of more varied, more effective measures to punish the aggressors and to provide powerful support to the Afghan people and the Kampuchean people politically, morally, and materially has already become an important component of the effort of the people of the world to oppose hegemonism's policy of aggression and war and to safeguard world peace. And the fact that the Afghan people and the Kampuchean people, by sparing no national sacrifices, have exerted themselves to resist the aggressors constitutes by the same token a great contribution to the cause of world peace. With the support of the people of the whole world, it is possible for them to turn Afghanistan and Kampuchea into traps ensnaring big and small hegemonism, making the burdens on their backs heavier, aggravating their difficulties, exhausting their strength, and exposing their expansionist essence as aggressors, and thereby to further mobilize the people of the world, including the people of their own countries, to rise in a just struggle against hegemonism. The big and small hegemonists are daring enough to resort to such wanton actions, so they are unlikely to halt in Afghanistan and Kampuchea and advance no further. Recently, Vietnam openly carried out an excursion into Thailand; it is necessary for people to become vigilant about a repetition of the Kampuchean incident in Thailand. The big and small hegemonists are cruelly suppressing the countries and people that demand national independence and liberation, and they carry on bloody wars every day. If we resort only to empty talk about opposing wars but somehow refrain from opposing wars that are precisely of this kind, refrain from sympathizing with and supporting the just struggles of weak and small nations safeguarding their national independence and state sovereignty, or even bargain, using the independence and sovereignty of small countries as our chips, then we will be evincing a hypocritical attitude toward peace.

3. People of the whole world must unite to promote the development of an anti-hegemonist situation. Safeguarding world peace is the common cause of people of all countries of the world. The purpose of this struggle for world peace today is to call forth the people of all countries of the world to oppose hegemonism and delay the new world war. This is not a struggle to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism. Therefore, under the banner of opposing hegemonism and safeguarding world peace, we should unite together all those who uphold peace and oppose hegemonism's policy of aggression and war, mobilize and organize all antihegemonist forces, including the developed countries facing the threat of Soviet aggression and expansion, and consolidate and develop a great antihegemonist association. Only when the ranks of the contingents participating in this procession become more powerful will the struggle to safeguard world peace become more vital and equipped with fighting stamina. The Afghan incident has stripped away the disguise of hegemonism and wiped people's eyes clear. The common interests of world peace and security have enabled the United States and the countries of Western Europe, the Middle East, South Asia, and the Asian-Pacific regions to gradually strengthen their ties. China and the United States are striving to coordinate their actions on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. China and Japan are strengthening their cooperation. Because of the Soviet Union's threat, the United States and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations [ASEAN] are also strengthening their cooperative relations. The United States likewise is strengthening its cooperation with Japan, Australia,

and New Zealand, and Japan has just participated for the first time in joint military exercises with the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The European Economic Community and the conference of ASEAN foreign ministers have issued a joint communique in which they adopted a common stand with respect to the Soviet Army's invasion of Afghanistan and Vietnam's occupation of Kampuchea. The contradiction between the Western and Third World countries has become somewhat mitigated. The signing of an agreement on defense and economic cooperation between Turkey and the United States marked the end of Turkish-American tensions during the past 5 years. The Arab countries and West European countries have moved closer to each other. The West European Community has explicitly recognized the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. Japan's special envoy Sonoda has visited the Gulf and Middle Eastern countries and decided to readjust his country's policy toward the Middle East. A special emergency meeting of the U.N. General Assembly and a conference of foreign ministers of Islamic countries have requested that Soviet troops be entirely, immediately, and unconditionally withdrawn from Arab territories, and they have also called upon countries of the world to support the struggle of the Afghan people. All of this illustrates that all countries concerned with international peace are now uniting to resist Soviet hegemonism. However, very angry and ill at ease with fear toward this trend of association on the part of various forces of the world, the Soviet Union has played the trick of sowing dissension in order to sabotage the world's sanctions against it. Especially with such methods as intimidation by war, inducement by "detente," and economic integration, it has done its best to drive a wedge between the United States and the West European countries and to create discrepancies between countries opposed to Soviet aggression, in the hope of defeating them individually. It has also taken advantage of the crisis in U.S.-Iranian relations to stir up differences and sabotage the united resistance to hegemonism by countries on the same front. Toward this, the countries of the world must raise their vigilance, strengthen their unity, support each other, and coordinate their actions in order to adopt a coordinated policy toward Soviet hegemonism. The development of this worldwide united antihegemonist strategy is created by the offensive strategy of the Soviet Union. The United States and West Europe are facing the serious threat of the Soviet Union together; their interests are consistent with each other. They are bound to coordinate their steps against Soviet expansion along largely similar and only slightly different paths. So long as the Soviet Union's strategy for achieving world hegemony does not change, the trend of united antihegemonism is unlikely to be reversed.

4. We must oppose the policy of appeasement. Over the years, because of the West's softness and retreat with respect to the Soviet Union, the latter's momentum for aggression and expansion has been greatly increased. This has emboldened the Soviet hegemonists to make the decision to occupy Afghanistan. The Afghanistan incident was an eyeopener to the appeasers. It seriously impinged upon the illusions of Western countries toward the Soviet Union, made the United States reconsider and readjust its strategic deployment, and also led certain other Western countries to adopt various sanctions against the Soviet Union's aggressive activities. This has been the main current of the developing situation. But recently, some people in the West, because of their fear and tension in the face of the war intimidation perpetrated by the Soviet hegemonists, and because of their illusions about "detente" and their desire to maintain the status quo, still think of bringing about a political solution through making concessions to the aggressor. At present, the struggle of the Afghan people against the invasion of Soviet troops is still developing. The

puppet regime in Kabul is very weak, and Soviet troops have become the only pillar proping up its rule. Under such circumstances, it is utterly impossible for the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops; but in order to attain their aggressive goals, the Soviet hegemonists are playing certain tricks. On 22 February, Breshnev made a personal appearance, declaring in a speech to those present that "as long as opposition to the Afghan Government and people and all forms of external interference are stopped," the Soviet Union would "proceed to prepare for the withdrawal of troops." Therefore, once negotiations over the withdrawal are initiated with the Soviet Union according to the conditions recommended by them, it would be tantamount to acknowledging the pretext on which the Soviet hegemonists committed the aggression in the first place, and would enable the puppet regime they had fostered in Kabul to secure international recognition. Countries of the world would then have morally disarmed themselves, and the upshot would not at all facilitate a reprimand or sanction against the Soviet hegemonists. Such a political solution would not only help the Soviet hegemonists divert their goal and realize their long-range occupation and control of Afghanistan, but also would fundamentally remove the struggle of the Afghan people against the invasion and thereby create a bad precedent for the struggle by other countries and people of the Third World against big and small hegemonism. Any scheme for a political solution to the Afghan question must be based on the resolutions passed respectively by the special emergency meeting of the U.N. General Assembly and the conference of foreign ministers of Islamic states in demanding the immediate, unconditional withdrawal from Afghanistan of all troops of the Soviet Union, so as to allow the Afghan people to solve their problems themselves without any interference from the outside. The peace that the people of the world wish to strive to maintain is a peace in accord with the interests of the people, which the people of the world will have secured through struggle with hegemonism, and not appeasement or submission to hegemonism effected by hegemonism under the signboard of peace and by means of armed threat. Appeasement and submission are not peace; they can only aggravate the ambition of hegemonism and create conditions for the next expansionist action by the Soviet Union. In the face of Soviet hegemonism's fire-breathing expansionist offensive, is it to be appeasement and retreat, or resolute struggle? All of the countries of the world are faced with this solemn choice. History and realities both continue to prove that the adoption of a policy of appeasement toward an ambitious hegemonist can only increase international tensions and the danger of an outbreak of war, and that only the conduct of a tit-for-tat struggle can safeguard world peace.

The Soviet Union is a fierce and cunning aggressor; it is at the same time a paper tiger. It looks powerful, but it is actually feeble. As long as peace-loving countries and people of the whole world unite, insist on opposing hegemonism, dare to struggle, and are good at struggling, the cause of safeguarding world peace and justice is bound to continue to win victories.

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COUNTRY-LEVEL DIRECT ELECTIONS BEING HELD IN SICHUAN

Chengdu SICHUAN RIEAO in Chinese 31 Jul 80 p 1

[News Report by Wu Youbin [0702 2589 1755] and Mao Shuren [3029 1859 0086]: "Sichuan Provincial County-Level Direct Election Work Conference Opens in Chengdu"]

[Text] A conference on the work of direct elections at county level in Sichuan Province was held in Chengdu from 25 to 30 July. The central task of the conference was to sum up experiences gained by units which have been selected to hold county-level direct elections; this will serve as a basis for conducting similar elections in other parts of Sichuan Province in the months ahead.

In addition to reviewing achievements and experiences in county-level direct elections which have been held on a selective basis, the conference discussed problems of how to hold similar elections throughout the province in the future. The conference pointed out: The results of elections that have taken place in 18 selected counties have proven fairly successful in broadening the political power base, in educating the broad masses in socialist democracy and the legal system, and in strengthening their sense of pride and responsibility as masters of their own country with a duty to manage affairs of state. This form of universal suffrage, in which all citizens of voting age can feel free to elect deputies of their choice for public office, has actually given the voters a kind of power to supervise cadres and to induce them to rectify their workstyle, and thus to strengthen their ties with the masses. At present, most of the aforementioned selected counties have opened their newly elected people's congresses so that they can elect their standing committees and form leading groups for the county-level people's governments. As a result of the elections, positive factors from all walks of life have been further mobilized to strengthen stability and unity and to promote production and other work. In short, the successful conclusion of the elections has given new impetus to production. On the basis of experiences has given new impetus to production. On the basis of experiences accumulated by the selected counties, the conference also adopted plans for county-level direct elections to be held in the future, calling on all remaining counties to work out their specific schedules for holding such elections as soon as possible and to bring them to a successful conclusion by the end of the coming winter or spring.

The conference pointed out: The county-level direct election is the first of its kind ever held in Sichuan since the PRC's founding and an important political event for the people of all nationalities in their province. When such elections are scheduled, the authorities in charge of elections should make it clear that candidates running for public office should be recommended and nominated by the masses,

that the number of nominees can be greater than the actual number to be elected, and that all voting should be conducted by secret ballot. These new practices are in striking contrast to past elections. Since the election campaign is a popular, wide-ranging, strenuous activity, conscientious efforts must be made to carry it out. Various local authorities are required to strengthen their party leadership, to conscientiously organize and train cadres to widely educate the masses in the electoral law, and to nominate candidates according to the principles of democratic centralism and mutual consultations, in order to bring every election campaign to a successful conclusion. The electoral law must be strictly observed in order to effectively protect every voter's democratic right. When elections are scheduled for minority areas, the authorities should take into account specific local conditions and should work out plans to meet specific needs.

The conference also adopted the revised version of the "Bylaws Governing the Election of Country- and Commune-Level People's Congresses in Sichuan Province" for consideration by the coming session of the Sichuan Provincial People's Congress. This bylaw was drafted by the Sichuan Provincial Election Committee on the basis of the "Electoral Law for the National People's Congress and Local People's Congresses of the People's Republic of China," in line with Sichuan Province's specific requirements.

During the conference, Qiao Zhimin [0829 1807 2404], vice governor of Sichuan Province and vice chairman of the Sichuan Provincial Election Committee, delivered a report on results of county-level direct elections in selected localities. In his report, he outlined plans for future elections at the Sichuan Provincial People's Congress' request. The conference also heard a summing-up report by Du Xinyuan [2629 1800 3293], secretary of the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee. The conference was attended by vice chairmen of the Sichuan Provincial People's Congress Li Linzhi [2621 2651 2655], Zhang Xiushu [1728 4423 3578] and Ma Shitu [7456 6221 6634]; responsible comrades of various municipalities and prefectures and 18 selected units in charge of election work; responsible comrades of the organizational and civil affairs departments; and comrades of the provincial election committee.

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REGULATIONS THAT HAMPER PROGRESS MUST BE ELIMINATED

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 80 p 2

[Article by Gao Lan [7559 1526]: "Abolish Obstructive Rules and Regulations"]

[Text] In a recent forum on how to display superiority, a comrade complained: If we want to bring our superior system into full play, "obstructive" rules and regulations must give way to "constructive" ones. He then followed this complaint with this story: Some time ago, the Tianjin Dagu Chemical Plant applied for a loan. The processing of the loan took 3.5 months to complete because it had to be approved by 10 ministries and 34 departments or bureaus. It might have taken longer if no one had been sent to push for it. If we go about our business at this speed, how can we hope to accomplish the four modernizations? A Japanese proverb says: "Quality is life, and time means money." A system that requires an application to be routed through so many offices costs us not only time but a lot of good opportunities. At a time when we emphasize economic results, we must take steps to wipe out such "obstructive" rules and regulations.

"Obstructive" rules and regulations are too numerous to mention here. For example, many localities still retain regulations protecting local products from competition with higher quality and lower priced commodities from other parts of the country. The consequence of applying such regulations to restrict competition and protect backward production units will cost us not only progress but also our capacity to compete on the national and international markets. Typical of these backward production units were the Tianjin Motor Plant and the Tianjin Electric Machinery Plant. The former used to be an enterprise that was unable to improve the quality of its diesel engine power-generating units and lower its production costs because it was required by regulations to form a partnership with another backward production unit, the Tianjin Electric Machinery Plant, in assembling its products. The latter was notorious for its poor quality and expensive power-generating units. Under such circumstances, it was impossible to improve the business outlook. Changes in this dismal outlook did not come about until new regulations were put into effect delegating to the enterprises greater power of self-determination. Under these new regulations the Tianjin Motor Plant has been able to select a different partner of its own choice to solve its longstanding problems. Confronted with strong competition, the Tianjin Electric Machinery Plant has also been able to remarkably improve its products through hard work. As can be seen from this, competition can serve as an incentive for progress. For this reason, we must foster competition with new constructive regulations and replace the old ones that hamper and discourage it.

As far as I know, the most obstructive regulations are those that "cut everything the same way." For example, when the regulation calling for "taking steel as the key link" was in effect, large steel mills had to be built in areas where neither iron ore and coke nor means of transportation were available. During the Great Cultural Revolution, Yuqi--a key to tobacco-producing center in Yunnan Province--was forced to give up this cash crop and convert its land to grow food crops in order to comply with the call for "taking grain as the foundation of the national economy." Herdsmen in Inner Mongolia were compelled to grow crops for their own sustenance for the same reason. The damage to the economy caused by such regulations has been appalling.

For a long time there have been economic doldrums in Tianjin, partly because of Lin Biao's and Jiang Qing's destructive counterrevolutionary measures and partly because of the aforementioned obstructive regulations. For 30 years, no steps have been taken to fully develop 900,000 mu of wasteland, terraces, and tideland, plus another 300,000 mu of riverside land on the outskirts of Tianjin which are suitable for the development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production, and fisheries. Reed grass can be grown and fish, shrimp, and crabs can be raised in rivers and tideland on the outskirts of Tianjin; animal husbandry can be developed and fruit plantations can be grown along with ordinary trees on terraces out there. Counties on the outskirts of Tianjin can also make large tracts of land available for growing sunflower seeds. Per unit output of this crop can reach 200 jin, which can be converted into 80 jin of edible oil and 120 jin of feedcakes for pigs. One jin of such edible oil is worth 8 jin of rice. If they are not used that way, sunflower seeds can be sold at the market price of 0.6 yuan per jin, which would mean a higher income for peasants than growing rice and other food crops. Why can't we taken advantage of the land on the outskirts of Tianjin to grow sunflower seeds?

At present, our country remains in a stage of reconstruction and rehabilitation. To make it prosperous and strong, we must formulate and put into effect new, constructive regulations to replace the obstructive ones. The new cannot be established if the old are not destroyed first. Neither the aforementioned comrade nor this writer can specifically advise what constructive regulations should be enacted and put into effect, because they involve too much detail. However, I firmly believe that constructive regulations sooner or later will come into being to take the place of those obstructive rules and regulations, because we have wisdom and resources to do so.

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PARTY AND STATE

STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM ON TWO FRONTS EMPHASIZED

Chungchun SHEHUI KEXUE ZHANXIAN [SOCIAL SCIENCES FRONT] in Chinese Vol 3
No 3, 25 Jul 80 pp 21-25

[Article by Qi Zhenhai [7871 2182 3189] and Xu Hongwu [1776 7703 2976]: "A Brief Discourse on the Two Forms of Revisionism"]

[Text] There are two forms of revisionism, or right and "left" revisionism. But the people have long maintained that there is only right, but no "left" revisionism. They have also put revisionism on a par with right opportunism, and have viewed "left" opportunism as something unrelated to revisionism. This view is theoretically wrong and practically harmful. We consider it absolutely necessary to straighten out this confusion with some historical experiences drawing from domestic and foreign sources.

I

A correct assessment of the two forms of revisionism first of all calls for a clear understanding of the true nature of revisionism.

What does revisionism mean? Revisionism is an anti-Marxist trend of thought or faction within the workers' movement, whose purpose is to "revise" (actually nullify) the basic principles of Marxism under the guise of Marxism. Lenin once suggested that theories "be revised as a result of practice." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 3, p 398) In that sense, the term "revise" denotes no intent to degrade Marxism. But the term "revisionism" is different. It is a synonym for total nullification of, and betrayal to, Marxism. Revisionism sprang up at the end of the 19th century. As a result of the extensive dissemination of Marxism, revisionism soon dominated the workers movement. Of course, Marxism had enemies. At first, they openly challenged Marxism. Then they changed their anti-Marxist strategy from one of open opposition to that of adulterating and nullifying the basic principle of Marxism under the banner of Marxism. In Lenin's language, at this time, "revisionism no longer takes its independent course but continues its struggle against Marxism under the common banner of Marxism." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 2, p 257) In other words, any trends of thought or factions intent on tampering with and nullifying the basic principles of Marxism under the banner of Marxism should be categorized as revisionism. As long as one

can grasp this point, one will be able to understand the core and essence of revisionism. This being the case, can we call all forms of opportunism revisionism? It is not so simple. There are also two forms of opportunism: First, the form of opportunism which openly challenged Marxism cannot be called revisionism. This form of opportunism includes Proudhonism and Bukuninism which sprang up during the period of the First International. Second, another form of opportunism which does not assert its independence from Marxism but carries on its anti-Marxist struggle under the guise of Marxism is called revisionism. For example, Lenin called Russia's "economists" Mensheviks, and empirio-critics manifestations and variants of revisionism in Russia because they were all opportunists who opposed the basic principles of Marxism under the guise of Marxism. Bernstein, founder of revisionism, once cunningly said that he "revised" Marxism with the aim of "strengthening the scientific foundation of this theory so that it can withstand any rebuff." This form of opportunism founded by Bernstein can be called revisionism.

The theory of the aforementioned two forms of revisionism--right and "left" revisionism--was explicitly spelled out by Lenin in 1908. In his article entitled "Marxism and Revisionism," he said: "Revisionism comes from both right and left directions. The two forms of revisionism are hostile to Marxism although they flaunt the same banner of Marxism. Both have the same intention of revising Marxism." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 2, p 262) Because "left" revisionism was not so well known and "internationalized" as right revisionism at that time, it eventually escaped thorough analysis and criticism by Lenin. On an occasion of criticizing the "gang of four" for opposing the so-called "empiricism," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Our correct strategy is a struggle against revisionism, including empiricism and dogmatism, both of which have the same intention of reviving Marxism-Leninism." This remark by Comrade Mao Zedong not only exposed the "gang of four's" trick to oppose only empiricism instead of dogmatism but also clearly taught the people that revisionism sometimes takes the form of dogmatism. In this way, he rectified an incorrect proposal to put revisionism on a par with right opportunism. Furthermore, he listed "left" opportunism under the category of revisionism because it often assumes the form of dogmatism.

II

Both right and "left" revisionism adopt the same double-dealing attitude of endorsing Marxism in public and rejecting it in private although they follow different approaches. Followers of right revisionism often abandon the basic principles of Marxism under the pretext that Marxism is now out of tune with time, while "left" revisionism usually takes the form of a theory of "preserving and defending" certain Marxist conclusions and formulas without taking into account time, places and conditions. "Left" revisionism also has the intention of exaggerating certain Marxist conclusions and then transforming them into an erroneous ultraleft line. Typical of the promoters of the theory that Marxism is out of tune with time were Bernstein, Trotsky and other old revisionists. Bernstein once insisted that "the times change" and the Marxist theory was now "out of fashion," while using the so-called "new information on economic developments" to discredit the theory that contradictions do exist in the capitalist system and the economic crises are unavoidable

in the capitalist world. Assuming that the capitalist system is unlikely to collapse with the emergence of Cartel, Trust and other monopolistic organizations which will strengthen the ability of the capitalist countries to meet the economic challenges of modern times, he contended that "the sharpening of social conflicts will not materialize as described by the 'Communist Manifesto'; this fact forces me to revise the concepts on which my original beliefs are based." Although Karl Kautsky "criticized" some of Bernstein's opinions, his basic viewpoint actually fell in line with Bernstein's. Kautsky also concocted a fallacy of "superimperialism," arguing that some of the Marxist principles would become invalid when imperialism progresses to a new stage. He alleged that the substitution of the international banking cooperation for the clash of capitalist interests has brought a "new hope" to capitalism, denying that imperialism is the highest stage of the development of capitalism and is doomed.

"Left" revisionism also can take the form of dogmatism, which denotes an intent to preserve certain outdated or invalid Marxist conclusions, to emasculate the living soul of Marxism and to ossify it into dead dogmatic formulas. Styling himself "a 100 percent Bolshevik" because he studied "orthodoxy" Marxism in Moscow, Wang Ming ridiculed Mao Zedong and other comrades as "country pumpkin-oriented Marxists," "Narrow-minded empiricists," and "peasant ideologists." Although he could draw up some seemingly good reports and fill them with quotable quotes from the classic works, his knowledge about China's real conditions and the objective laws governing the development of the Chinese revolution was almost nil. He was also good at mechanically copying the individual Marxists-Leninist phrases. As an adherent to the formula that it is necessary to start armed uprisings in cities and then spread them from there to the countryside, he opposed the correct strategy to encircle the cities from the countryside and eventually take cities. His strategy on struggle with emphasis placed on dealing blows to the middle forces eventually destroyed the cooperative relations between our party and its allies, and undermined the party's policy for the formation of the united front. He also instructed the party to start violent uprisings everywhere in order to whip up a new high tide in the revolution. Wang Ming's "left" opportunist line was responsible for bringing our revolutionary forces to the abyss of annihilation. Although he appeared loyal to Marxism, he actually betrayed it.

Although the "left" revisionism promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" also takes the form of dogmatism, it differs from the general form of dogmatism.

First, this form of dogmatism was inseparable from the creation of a modern cult of worship. While using the high prestige of the revolutionary leader among the masses as a tiger-skin to cover themselves and to intimidate others, they converted Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought into a form of dogmatism and a cult of worship. Their diabolical design was to "vigorously promote themselves" under the pretext of promoting others, to create opportunities for them to move up to the supreme leadership position of the country and to carry out a variety of criminal activities under the "shelter of a tall tree."

Second, all signs indicated that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were not believers in Marxism-Leninism." Their claim to go all the way to defend Marxism-Leninism was only a device to boost their political fortune. Unlike other revisionists, who wanted to preserve those obsolete Marxist-Leninist conclusions, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took a different attitude toward Marxism-Leninism. Their method for distorting, adulterating and tampering with Marxism-Leninism was extremely diabolical and unscrupulous. They even committed forgery in this field. For example, they dished out such terms as the "exercise of dictatorship in an all-round way," "Omnipresence," "act according to the principles laid down" in order to serve their reactionary political aim.

As we have stated earlier, right revisionism is mainly devoted to directly "revising" the basic Marxist principles under the pretext that they are "out of tune with time" while the aim of "left" revisionism is to ossify Marxism into dogmatic formulas. But we must make clear that this thesis on right and "left" revisionism is relative but not absolute, because it deals with only key aspects but not the entire picture of them. We must note that right revisionists sometimes are also interested in applying Marxist phrases and formulas to rebuff the revolution. For example, Kautsky and other revisionists of the Second International once used Marx's theory that the proletarian revolution could succeed only when it was carried out in several economically advanced countries as a theoretical basis for rebuffing Lenin's doctrine that the socialist revolution could be won in a single country. After noting this, Lenin called Kautsky "a theorist capable of readily quoting everything written by Marx in an orderly manner." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 3, p 640) But Kautsky was also denounced by Lenin for emasculating the living soul of Marxism and for trying to make it acceptable to the bourgeoisie. "Left" revisionists sometimes also wanted to adopt the same theory to nullify the basic principles of Marxism. For example, the "gang of four" once declared that "the State and Revolution," "'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder" are now no longer valid!" Since revisionists are also pragmatists, they can resort to all available tactics to achieve their reactionary political aim.

III

Both right and "left" revisionism are politically devoted to negating and tampering with the Marxist theories of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, although they adopt different methods to achieve the same purpose. Right revisionism tends to scale down or ignore the class struggle while "left" revisionism is devoted to escalating it.

Before seizing the political power, both right and "left" revisionists did not agree to smash the bourgeois military bureaucratic state machine as a step in establishing and consolidating the proletarian political power. As the promoters of the theory of class conciliation, both Kautsky and Bernstein argued that both capitalists and the proletariat would benefit from the development of capitalism; the more the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie diminishes, the greater the prospect of "peaceful evolution into socialism." They also contended that under the capitalist system,

the proletariat could be organized to realize socialism through the practice of bourgeois parliamentary democracy. Their attempt was to put the proletariat under the perpetual control of capitalism. "Left" revisionism favors secret and violent struggles and rebuffs struggles by peaceful means. Its followers hated all state authorities and rebuffed the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They even conspired to overthrow the capitalist system by means of terrorism. For example, the massive struggle, the party leadership and the dictatorship of the proletariat were considered unnecessary to the revolution by those representatives of "left" revisionism named by Lenin in his article "Marxism and Revisionism." In their opinion, there was no need for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the struggle to overthrow capitalism and capture the power of the management of production because general strikes could be organized to do the job well.

After the proletariat captured the political power, both right and "left" revisionists in Russia acted against the interests in upholding the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism, although they followed different approaches. The Bukharin branch of revisionism that appeared in the Soviet Union in the 1930's was a kind of right revisionism. In addition to calling for the realization of socialism through cooperation between the working class and the bourgeoisie, Bukharin suggested that in socialist society, socialist and capitalist economies "work together to bring about prosperity"; in cities, peaceful competition be encouraged between socialist and capitalist enterprises; in the countryside, a kind of rich peasant economy be developed, and freedom to hire workers be permitted along with free trade and freedom of tenancy. This suggestion was essentially a political line for developing capitalism and abolishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Trotsky, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were "left" revisionists interested in escalating the class struggle. Trotsky called for drastic efforts to shift the emphasis of the class struggle under the socialist system to social reforms. He postulated that with socialism gaining ground, the "domain of the proletariat would become narrower and more shaky than ever"; with victory, reactionary elements would unavoidably emerge from among the members of the proletariat along with "new nobles of working class origin"; in the countryside, "bourgeois organizations consisting of new rich peasants" would become predominant forces. His proposed solution for this problem was a "world revolution" which would wipe out the "rule of the bureaucratic clique" in the Soviet Union.

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" pushed an ultraleft line aimed at steadily escalating the struggle. In addition to suppressing democracy, they misrepresented the dictatorship of the proletariat as an "exercise of the dictatorship over the proletariat and the broad masses of working people in an all-round way." They mistook enemies for friends and friends for enemies, turned upside down the relationship between the resource and target of the revolution, and confused the two different types of contradictions. They emphasized only the necessity of escalating the struggle against the wishes of the broad masses of cadres and people, and ignored the need for unity. Although they stridently claimed to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat, they worked behind closed doors to change its nature by imposing a fascist dictatorship on some localities and units under their direct control.

Although the advocacy of class conciliation appears at variance with the assertion of the escalation of class struggle, their consequence is the same. The Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is based on a realistic analysis of the objective reality of class contradictions. Only by scientifically analyzing and correctly carrying out the class struggle, can we truly uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must be aware that the class struggle exists objectively. Any deliberate attempt to ignore or escalate it will weaken or undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat. Just as Stalin pointed out, "although they proceed from two opposite extremes, both right and left deviations will arrive at the same conclusion. They are all bad." ("Collection of Works of Stalin," vol 11, p 200) Although the two forms of revisionism are poles apart, their political conclusions often coincide. For example, Bernstein and Kautsky proceeded from the right side to charge the Soviet power with "undermining democracy," "violating humanitarianism," and "exercising dictatorship," and vowed to "thoroughly crush it," while Lin Biao and the "gang of four" stepped forward from the "left" side to attack the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country as "the bourgeoisie exercising dictatorship over the proletariat," threatening to "completely smash it" and "replace it with another dynasty." Right revisionism often converges with "left" revisionism to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. Sometimes, their followers use almost the same language to confuse the people. On an occasion of criticizing "left revivalists" and right "abolitionists" at the beginning of the 20th century, Lenin pointed out: "Various trends of thought have converged to produce revivalism and abolitionism. The result is a mixture of the extreme right and extreme 'left' fallacies." ("Collection of Works of Lenin," vol 16, p 105) This fact shows that the two forms of revisionism can be practiced for the same purpose of abolishing the proletarian revolution.

IV

Both right and "left" revisionism are characterized by estranging subjective from objective reality and theory from practice. This is their common nature. But they differ in that the former lags behind reality while the latter transcends reality. In this connection, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "There are two kinds of opportunism, being slow and being hasty." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 3, p 204) The former is right revisionism and the latter "Left" revisionism.

There were "theories of a single revolution and dual revolution" in the history of both Russian and Chinese revolution. Among the Russian representatives of the "theory of a single revolution" were Trotsky and Zinoviev. Their Chinese counterparts were Trotskyists. They all suggested that the democratic revolution be circumvented so that both bourgeois democratic revolution and proletarian socialist revolution could be accomplished at one stroke. Both Trotsky and Zinoviev proposed that "we don't need tears but we need the workers' government," advocating that "the democratic revolution must be accomplished under the dictatorship of the proletariat." They were all "left" revisionists who wanted the democratic revolution to be circumvented.

Russia's Mensheviks and China's Chen Duxiu were promoters of the "theory of dual-revolution." They argued that during the bourgeois democratic revolution, the proletariat should put itself under the command of the bourgeoisie and should not try to take over the leadership; after the revolution triumphs, a kind of bourgeois dictatorship should be established in order to create a condition for developing capitalism; the proletarian revolution can start only after capitalism has run its full course. They were all right revisionists whose revolutionary theory falls behind reality.

After coming to power, the proletariat still faces a problem of either going too far ahead of or falling behind schedule in handling the matters concerning the economic base and the superstructure and productive forces and the relations of production. Right revisionism represents a force which resists any attempt to reform that part of the superstructure that is not in harmony with the economic base, and to modernize the relations of production when the conditions are ripe for such actions. "Left" revisionism is known for its rashness and recklessness in pushing through similar reforms long before they are necessary. These two forms of revisionism can cause the same serious damage to the socialist cause. For example, in 1958, Zhang Chunqiao prematurely declared that "the bourgeois rights should be eliminated." Chen Boda then echoed him by saying that "the commodity system should be abolished." At the same time, that "theorist" also nonsensically alleged that "socialism heralds a beginning of transition to communism." During the Great Cultural Revolution, they went a step forward in cutting off the so-called "tails of capitalism," in prohibiting commune members from farming small plots for personal needs and from engaging in legitimate trade at village fairs, and in canceling the principle of "to each according to his work." Their vigorous propaganda effort to convince the people that "the road from socialism to communism is marked by a transitional stage of poverty" also caused extremely serious damage to the cause of the socialist revolution and construction in our country. Although the two forms of revisionism often move in opposite directions, they are mutually transferable to each other. Their transferability can occur to individual persons. For example, during the early days of the Soviet Union, Bukharin, organizer of the "left communist" clique, ganged up with Trotsky in opposing the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty. With regard to the question of the trade union, he threw his weight behind the call for its nationalization, and for using executive orders and coercive orders and coercive measures in dealing with the masses of workers. Upon entering the 1930's, he shifted his position to the right by promoting the theory of class conciliation in opposition to the policies of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) on socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization. During the Second Revolutionary Civil War in our country, holding high the "most revolutionary" banner, Wang Ming pushed an ultraleft line heading the Chinese revolution down the road to defeat. Shortly after the outbreak of the War of Resistance against Japan, he shifted his stand to the extreme right by agreeing to put "everything under the command of the united front" in an attempt to hand the proletarian leadership to Chiang Kai-shek. During the Second Revolutionary Civil War, Lin Biao was a pessimistic, disappointed and irresolute man with no confidence in the future of the revolution. During the liberation war, he feared the enemy

troops as if they were tigers and hesitated to challenge them to a decisive battle. But during the socialist revolution, he shifted his position to the extreme left, masquerading himself as the "most revolutionary fighter" to cover up his diabolical design to usurp the supreme party and state power. Just as Stalin said it well, "Rightists and 'ultraleftists' are actually twin brothers." ("Collection of Works of Stalin," vol 8, p 9) It can be said that only a reactionary political stand, and the idealistic and metaphysical world outlook will contribute to the growth of such twin brothers.

V

Now resting on our shoulders is a heavy responsibility assigned by history to combat and prevent revisionism. A major issue that is laid before us today is how to persevere in practicing genuine Marxism instead of revisionism, and in safeguarding the basic interests of the working people so that we can prevent our country from taking a revisionist road of suppressing the people at home and indulging in aggression and expansion abroad. Efforts must be made to sum up our past experiences in combating revisionism. The battle to combat and prevent revisionism must be fought on two fronts. We must combat not only right but also "left" revisionism as well. We cannot just combat the one and forget the other. The fallacy spread by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" that "during the socialist period, there is only right but no 'left' deviation, and the right deviation is the main danger" should be eliminated. Only by summing up experiences in combating both right and "left" revisionism can we succeed in the revolution. This was the experiences we gained during the New-Democratic Revolution. Shortly after the PRC's founding, we concentrated on combating only right revisionism, thus leading us to neglect our struggle against "left" revisionism. Shortly after 1958, the conviction that there was only right revisionism in our country caught us ideologically and theoretically unguarded against "left" revisionism fanatically promoted by Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and that "theorist," causing serious damage to the cause of the socialist revolution and construction.

While endeavoring to combat and prevent revisionism, we must be aware that one tendency can often be covered up by another; everything does not advance along a straight course but in a zigzag manner. For this reason, we must apply dialectics to guide our work. In other words, we must guard against the "left" deviation while combating the right deviation and vice versa. Only in this way can we correctly chart a course for the great struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and prevent it from going astray.

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PARTY AND STATE

QUESTION OF EXERCISE OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS EXAMINED

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCE] in Chinese No 4, 20 Aug 80 pp 67-70

[Article by Li Dingwen [2621 7844 2429], Changwei Medical College: "Study Lenin's Discussions of the Democratic Rights of the Masses"]

[Text] The masses are the principal makers of history and their own masters in the socialist society. In socialist construction, how they can truly exercise their democratic rights is a fundamental question which must be solved.

In the course of leading the Russian working class and working people in establishing the Soviet regime, Lenin had many brilliant discussions about the masses exercising fully their democratic rights. It is of great significance to us in understanding clearly and solving correctly the question of the people's democratic rights under the socialist system.

1. Without exercising fully the democratic rights of the people, socialism cannot really come true.

After the establishment of a socialist regime, the reform of the political system will inevitably follow the reform of the economic system. The basic requirement of this reform is to really develop socialist democracy and really exercise the democratic rights of the masses, so that socialist democratic centralism is built truly on a broad democratic foundation, to overcome bureaucratic centralism that may possibly arise, and to guard against the occurrence of the tragedy of feudal fascist despotism.

First of all, Lenin believed that exercising fully the democratic rights of the people, and recruiting the masses to participate in state administration, is the source of Soviet political power and a reliable guarantee for the consolidation of the Soviet regime. The masses are the principal makers of history and the real principal body. This was the fundamental point of departure of Lenin's attitude in dealing with the masses. Lenin pointed out: "The main source of our strength lies in the workers, who are very conscious, very heroic and have all along gained the sympathy and support of the working peasants." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 30, p 118). "The bourgeoisie has strangled, suppressed and destroyed a large number of talents among the workers and working peasants. These talents perished under the oppression of poverty, hardship and personal insults. At present our duty and responsibility is to be good at finding these talents and giving them work to do." ("Selected Works of Lenin", Second Edition, Vol 4, p 81.) "As far as I can see, the most important summation of the Soviet Republic's construction in the last 2 years

is the lesson drawn from the building of the workers' political power....This lesson is that only by allowing the workers to take part in the whole work of administration of the state can we hold out under such hard to believe, difficult conditions. Only by taking this road can we win complete victory." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 30, pp 108-109.)

Secondly, Lenin believed that exercising fully the democratic rights of the people and recruiting all residents to take part in state administration is the fundamental way to conquer bureaucracy. Lenin summed up the experience of the Paris Commune and believed that the three measures laid down by the Paris Commune to guard against cadres becoming bureaucrats provide the proletariat with "an outline" for "extending democracy and eradicating bureaucracy," "if we advance along such a road, we can destroy bureaucracy completely." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Second Edition, Vol 3, p 273.) After the proletariat seized political power in Russia, Lenin paid very serious attention to the struggle against bureaucracy, and emphasized the necessity of guarding against the revival of bureaucracy in the Soviet regime. The bureaucratic system is the product of the exploitation system. With the founding of public ownership, the bureaucratic system has been broken down accordingly. However, bureaucracy still remains and will still produce new bureaucrats. It interferes with the relations between the party, the state and the masses, and corrupts the Soviet regime. Therefore, Lenin pointed out repeatedly that "there should be still many more varied form and methods of supervision from below to above in order to stop all possibilities of poisoning the Soviet regime and repeatedly and indefatigably uproot the weeds of bureaucracy." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Second Edition, Vol 3, p 537.) If there are no full democratic rights of the masses, then their wisdom, ability and rights will be suppressed, and the ranks of cadres will also be aging because of the lack of replacement. The phenomena of lax discipline, dilatory style of work, bureaucracy and violation of law and discipline will inevitably occur everywhere, and the proletarian regime will face the danger of degeneration.

Thirdly, Lenin believed that exercising fully the democratic rights of the people is the condition for the state to wither away. State is a category of history. A state is born with the birth of classes, and will also wither away with the disappearance of classes. Fully developing socialist democracy is also an important way for a state to wither away. Lenin expounded on this truth in "The High Stage of Communist Society," the last topic of chapter 5 in his work "The State and Revolution." Until the stage of socialism, democracy expands continuously and the people increasingly take part in state administration and economic management, so that social life continuously pushes forward in all fields, and forms a true mass movement. When all people have learned the management of social life, "then the people will very quickly observe, from being of necessity to becoming a habit, all simple basic rules of the common life of mankind." ("The State and Revolution," p 91.) Until that time, socialism will develop to communist society, and the state will wither away completely.

2. The Soviet regime is the highest type of democratic system.

The Soviet regime is the first regime in the world in which the working masses take part in state administration. From the first day of the founding of the Soviet regime, the working masses began to enjoy democratic rights. Lenin said: "As far as the workers and peasants are concerned, the Soviet system is a democratic system of the highest limit. Meanwhile, it also means a break with the bourgeois democratic system and the birth of a new-type democratic system of world historical significance, that is, the emergence of a proletarian democratic system or the dictatorship of the proletariat." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Second Edition, Vol 4, p 568.)

In his famous article "The Current Task of the Soviet Regime," Lenin discussed the nature of the Soviet democratic system, and emphasized the democratic rights of the masses. He said: "The socialist nature of the Soviet democratic system, that is, the proletarian democratic system in concrete enforcement at present, lies in: First, the voters are the exploited working masses, without the bourgeoisie; secondly, all procedures and restrictions in the form of bureaucracy in election are abolished, the masses themselves decide the procedure and date of election, and have their complete freedom to revoke the elected; and thirdly, it establishes the finest mass organization of the working people's vanguard, that is, the proletariat of large industries. This organization helps the working people's vanguard lead the broadest exploited masses, absorbs them to take part in an independent political life, and gives them political education based on their personal experience. Therefore, it is unprecedentedly the first time truly all the people learn state administration and, moreover, begin to administer the state. This is the main feature of the democratic system enforced in Russia. This democratic system is one of the higher type." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Second Edition, Vol 3, p 524.)

After the October Revolution, Lenin led the Soviet regime in working out the regulations of supervision in all domains of politics, economy and education, and in all related fields. These regulations encouraged the masses to participate directly in state administration, and to wage struggles against all acts disrupting the socialist legal system. All personnel holding public offices of the government are persons to carry out the will of the people and under the supervision of the people. If they abuse their authority, usurp the rights of the people and infringe upon the interests of the people, the people will have the power to dismiss them.

Lenin believed that proletarian democracy must have the leadership of a proletarian political party. Lenin emphasized that the Soviet regime, led by the communist party, must put into effect, in the practice of revolution, the democratic rights of the masses, as laid down in the law. Lenin pointed out that the difference between bourgeois democracy and Soviet democracy lies in the fact that bourgeois democracy puts the stress on the lofty declaration of various freedoms and rights; on the contrary, proletarian democracy actually guarantees that the working masses actually take part in state administration. "The Soviet regime should unflinchingly continue to carry out a very important work, that is, to actually help the exploited workers really enjoy cultural, civilized and democratic well-being." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Second Edition, Vol 3, p 745.) It can be seen that a proletarian political party should transform legal democratic rights of the people into facts of practical life, and guard against lofty sham democracy.

Lenin believed that the point of departure of the principles and policies of the Soviet regime is the masses. "Policies should have the tens of millions of people in mind, not a few thousand people in mind. Only by having tens of millions of people in mind will there be practical and realistic policies." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Second Edition, Vol 3, p 464.) "Only when we can correctly express things which the people are conscious of can we manage; otherwise, a communist party cannot guide the proletariat, and the proletariat cannot guide the masses. The whole apparatus will break down." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Second Edition, Vol 4, p 651.)

From these statements of Lenin on the democratic rights of the masses, we can see that Lenin had not taken democracy simply as a means, but as the basic content of the socialist political system, and as rights which every citizen really enjoys.

Democracy and dictatorship are the unity of opposites. With democracy, there is dictatorship. The democratic rights of the people also include dictatorship imposed by law upon the enemy, through the political power of the state. "The absolute majority of people enjoy democracy, and those who exploit and oppress people are suppressed vigorously, that is, they are excluded from democracy. This is democracy which has changed its pattern under the condition of transition from capitalism to communism." (Lenin, "The State and Revolution," p 79.) While laying stress on exercising fully the democratic rights of the people, Lenin also laid stress on necessary discipline, law and unified will. "Socialism is the product of big machinery. If the working masses, while carrying out socialism, cannot make their own mechanism work as industries of big machinery should, then you can't take about socialism." ("Selected Works of Lenin," First Edition, Vol 3, p 503.) He said: "We advocate democratic centralism; however, we must see clearly its great difference from bureaucratic centralism on the one hand, and from anarchism on the other." (First draft of an article, "The Current Task of the Soviet Regime," "Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 190.) This is to say that you shouldn't turn centralism into bureaucratic centralism, and democracy into anarchism. In socialist society, we must carefully oppose these two tendencies, and guarantee the perfect development of socialist democratic centralism. Bureaucratic centralism does not take democracy as its basis, and places the will of a very few people above the will of the broad masses. A few people have the final say on everything, so that a very few people become the masters, and the broad masses are turned into servants only to carry out orders. Bureaucratic centralism is a kind of feudal thing even more backward than capitalism. The socialist system will never tolerate the existence of this decadent thing. Anarchism takes individualism as its core, preaches freedom as the highest, individuals as the highest, and absolute democracy, and opposes discipline, centralism and the leadership of the party, and holds that the party, the government and the collective must submit to the will of individuals. Such idealistic "solipsism" and "theory of free will" are idle dreams impossible to realize in any society.

Some comrades argue that with democratic centralism we cannot carry out autonomy and the federal system. Against this point of view, Lenin pointed out: "Democratic centralism will on no account exclude autonomy and the federal system and, at the same time, also will not in the slightest degree deny all localities and even all communes throughout the country complete freedom to adopt various forms in respect of national life, social life and economic life; moreover, on the contrary, it will also take such freedom as a prerequisite." ("Selected Works of Lenin," First Edition, Vol 3, p 499.) Democratic centralism does not reject the multiplicity of forms; moreover, "the more plentiful the multiplicity (of course, not doing something unconventional or unorthodox), the more reliably and more quickly can we attain democratic centralism and carry out socialist economy." ("Selected Works of Lenin," First Edition, Vol 3, p 500.) This explains the fact that autonomy and the federal system are the important substance of democratic centralism, and that the masses may create still more democratic forms favorable to the people. The more numerous and plentiful these forms, the more favorable it will be to the cause of socialism. The idea of pursuing a unitary form is not in line with Leninism and, likewise, also departs from real life.

3. Struggle for the realization of the democratic rights of the masses.

After the founding of the Soviet regime in the Soviet Union, considering how to help the people become their own masters in reality as well as in name, Lenin, besides waging struggles against persons like Kautsky who clamored "pure democracy," the

bourgeois democrats, those who advocated bureaucratic centralism and anarchists, also adopted a series of measures contributing to the realization of the democratic rights of the masses.

For the true realization of the democratic rights of the masses, Lenin believed that it is necessary to vigorously promote the cause of education, and enhance universally the cultural and scientific knowledge of the masses, so that they can establish their democratic rights on the basis of their cultural and scientific knowledge. By so doing, the broad masses can be helped to take part in state administration in the best way. He said: "The task placed before us can be solved only by long-term education." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Second Edition, Vol 3, p 789.) Lenin also advocated bringing into play the role of the masses in the political and economic life of the state through multiple forms of organization, such as the worker-peasant congress and worker-peasant inspection institutes and trade unions, and training and promoting personnel by means of these organizations. Lenin said: "Our aim is to recruit all the poor people to actually participate in the work of administration. All measures for achieving this task--the more forms the better--should be recorded in detail, to be studied and systematized, and they should be examined with still more experience and be made into laws and regulations." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Second Edition, Vol 3, p 525.) Lenin pointed out enthusiastically: "In the course of our revolution, practice has created an organ, that is, the non-party worker-peasant congress. We are doing our best to support, develop and expand this organ, in order to observe the morale of the masses, approach the masses, meet their needs, and promote outstanding talents from among them to take jobs of state administration, etc." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Second Edition, Vol 4, p 204.)

To truly give play to the democratic rights of the masses, Lenin also believed that the democratic rights of the people must be protected by law, and struggles must be waged against all acts of violating people's rights. The proletarian law is the tool for attacking the enemy and protecting the people. After the founding of the Soviet regime, laws and decrees were promulgated to abolish classes, cancel restrictions on nationalities and beliefs, give women the same rights as men, and treat all nationalities in Russia with equality. In July 1918 the first Soviet Constitution was passed, in which it was laid down that the masses have the right of participating in state administration. Lenin set demands on the state cadres that they must obey strictly the socialist legal system, and act according to the law. Lenin utterly detested those ambitionists and adventurers, the self-claimed communists, who "only seek their promotion to higher official posts" but "use coercive means in the localities." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Second Edition, Vol 3, p 802.) He called upon the communists to wage struggle against acts violating the democratic rights of the masses. He stood firmly opposed to "the use of revolutionary violence and dictatorship in violation of law and discipline." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 39, p 137.) He stood firmly opposed to "the abuse of rights for personal interests of the dictator." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 31, p 309.) The masses should obey the law; the cadres and government offices should also obey the law. When the common people have violated law and discipline, they should be punished according to the law. When the cadres, even those of high ranks, have violated the law, they should also be punished according to the law. Under the protection of the legal system, the people can then exercise fully their democratic rights.

If this fundamental question is ignored, there is the possibility that the socialist system will deteriorate. Lenin pointed out: "Socialism of vigorous creativity is founded by the masses of people themselves." ("Complete Works of Lenin, Vol 26, p 269.)

Socialism works not against bourgeois democracy by means of despotism, but against bourgeois sham democracy by means of still more complete democracy. Socialist democracy is the natural results of historical development, which no force can resist. The socialization of production and the democratization of politics are historical trends which complement each other. Despotism is the enemy of socialized large-scale production, and democratic centralism is the partner of socialized large-scale production. The higher the degree of socialization of production, the more complete should be the democratic system. Otherwise, economic development will be hindered, and the democratic system will be punished economically. As we recognize this law, we must consciously apply it to avoid paying a great price for taking a roundabout course.

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PARTY AND STATE

STUDY OF PRACTICE AS CRITERION FOR TESTING TRUTH

Editor's Note

Beijing ZHEXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 6, 25 Jun 80 p 52

[Text] [Editor's Note] Taking the theoretical study of practice as criterion for testing truth in the in-depth direction is an important task which lies before our philosophical workers. Here, we publish in excerpts the manuscripts contributed by several comrades so that they may serve as reference material for our further study.

Results, Aims of Practice

Beijing ZHEXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 6, 25 Jun 80 p 52-54

[Article by Li Jingyuan [2621 2529 0337]: "The Results and Aims of Practice"]

[Text] Practice is man's conscious and purposeful activity. The process of practice is one by which a subject transforms a material object with the assistance of a certain material means. The result of practice is the conversion of its aim into an objective object. The result and aim of practice are opposites which are at the same time in unity. Viewed from one aspect, the result is different from the aim, the result constitutes negation of the aim, and the two are opposites to each other in the sense that a subjective thing and an objective thing are opposites to each other. Viewed from another aspect, at the initial stage of the activity of practice the subject and the object exist as opposites; in the process of practice aim is converted into object with the assistance of a certain material means and becomes result, the opposition between the subject and the object thus disappears, and result emerges as the unity of the subjective desire and the objective outcome. Hegel said: the realization of an aim "negates the direct subjectivity reflected in this aim on the one hand and, on the other hand, also negates the direct objectivity reflected in the means or assumed object" (Micrologic," p 391). This idea on Hegel's part is acceptable. Since the result of a practice proves on the one hand the unity of the subject and the object, it is impossible for man to engage in the activity of practice without such unity; but on the other hand it also proves the relativity of this kind of unity, and this kind of relativity just serves to turn result into the motive force for the continued development of practice and perception.

A result is not only related to an aim but also associated with the characteristics of the means and the object involved. Therefore, the movement from an aim to a result reflects a complex and complicated situation. A concrete analysis of the movement of the contradiction between aim and result has an important meaning to people's activity of practice and activity of perception.

In the course of practice, there are generally the following three situations concerning the movement from aim to result:

First, the aim of an action is expected, but the result actually coming from that action is not always expected; a sharp contradiction is thus reflected between aim and result. This situation obtains either because the theoretical knowledge according to which the subject sets forth the aim does not tally with the nature of the laws pertaining to the object, or because [the subject] happens to have deviated from actuality and hence misjudged the situation on hand, whereby the possibility contained in the aim is no longer a realistic possibility but merely false possibility. The result of practice thus exposes the contradiction between the theoretical system and the realistic object. Under such circumstances, result often emerges as a "positive" aspect, demanding the subject to change the existing system of knowledge with the new perception, to negate the original aim and assumption, and to establish a new aim and assumption with realistic possibilities. This situation is bound to lead to the birth of a new theoretical system and thereby confine the old theory in definite limits.

Second, although some aims will not run into contradiction with objective laws, because of a lack of necessary means to realize a given aim in this category, a situation may also emerge wherein the result does not correspond to the aim. Here, because of this lack of a material condition, what is contained in the aim is but an abstract possibility; such an abstract possibility is the incipient form of an actual possibility, and along with the development of objective realities this abstract possibility is likely to transform itself in the direction of an actual possibility. Engels once took the realization of public ownership as an example to explain this question: "Ever since the mode of capitalist production emerged in history, possession of all means of production by society as a future ideal has often faintly appeared in the minds of individual personalities and whole schools of thought. But this kind of possession is possible or can become an inevitability in history only when material conditions for its realization are present" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 3, p 321). This situation explains that in the process of the realization of aims, we must also be good at differentiating various possibilities contained in such aims under different material conditions, e. g., differentiating their realistic possibilities and abstract possibilities. If we disregard historical conditions, and take an abstract possibility for a realistic possibility, then we are bound to create danger in our practice. Of course, we must see that, under this situation, the contradiction between aim and result is temporary; once conditions are ripe, an aim is likely to be set forth anew and once again become the motive of the subject's action.

Third, the subject's aim tallies with the nature of the laws pertaining to the object and also possesses the means to attain that aim; thus in the process of practice, that aim "discards" itself with the assistance of that means and becomes concretely embodied in the result. Even in such a situation, the unity of aim and result is also relative; that is to say, the two still have contradiction between them, and such contradiction is not only reflected in form, as between subjectivity and objectivity, but also in substance in terms of concrete contents. Such a situation is determined by the nature of the aim, the means, and the object in practice.

The activity of the subject's transforming of the object is under the direct command of aim, and an aim is always established on the basis of a certain perception and takes knowledge as its core. A concrete aim always contains some knowledge such as the following: knowledge about the nature of the laws pertaining to the object; knowledge about the means of practice applied to the object; knowledge about the functioning mode of the subject and the object; etc. Aim is a reflection of future things appearing in reality, an assumption and expectation of the things subjectively striven for, and these things do not, as yet, exist in reality. Therefore, even the fullest theoretical knowledge (leaving aside experience and perception) cannot possibly thoroughly perceive all the dispositions of the object and means of practice, but only achieve a relative accord. When the subject proceeds beyond the mental realm and enters the process of practice, the relativity of that subject's perception of the object and means of practice becomes exposed. The various kinds of material means people create in the process of practice do not necessarily immediately reflect their diversity in quality; when they interact with different objects in different systems, their functions are also different. And in practice too, unanticipated new dispositions of an object also emerge and interact with the means of practice; these new dispositions and functions directly affect the results of practice, and unexpected new situations and new elements also emerge in these results. This kind of new elements have their objective basis in the means and the object; it is only because of the previous partiality of the processes of practice and perception that the subject did not yet recognize them. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Generally speaking, whether in the practice of changing nature or of changing society, men's original ideas, theories, plans or programs are seldom realized without any alteration. This is because people engaged in changing reality are usually subject to numerous limitations; they are limited not only by existing scientific and technological conditions but also by the development of the objective process itself and the degree to which this process has become manifest (the aspects and the essence of the objective process have not yet been fully revealed). In such a situation, ideas, theories, plans or programs are usually altered partially and sometimes even wholly, because of the discovery of unforeseen circumstances in the course of practice" ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 1, p 270).

The contradiction between the aims revealed in the course of practice and the new elements contained in the results becomes the motive force for the development of theoretical perception. This kind of new elements often become the

objects of perception, and they constitute the urgent task that need to be solved in theoretical research; the entire history of man's perception of microscopic objects in the microscopic realm has proved this point.

Perception of the new dispositions reflected in the object expands the purview of men; people very naturally unite the new characteristics of the object with their own interests, leading to the shaping of new needs which further encourage them to carry out new practices. Therefore, the contradiction between aims and results likewise constitutes a motive force for the promotion of new practices. This motive force is contained in the organic system of practice itself; it propels the incentive for practice to develop vigorously so that it will never stop at the same level.

Lenin said: "The result of action is a test of subjective perception and criterion for the really existent objectivity" ("Complete Works of Lenin," vol 38, p 235). Here Lenin stressed the meaning of cognition of results of practice as the objective criteria for testing theory. Examined from the angle of this theory of cognition, the movement from aim to result in practice is at the same time the theory-testing process. Generally speaking, in the course of practice "if preconceived aims can be realized or, that is, if preconceived ideas, theories, plans or programs can be turned into reality or largely into reality in the same course of practice," then that would prove the correctness of those theories.

But, the complicated situation [of the movement] from aim to result tells us that, when we take the result of action as the criterion for testing theory, we must carry out concrete analysis from the dialectical point of view. An aim (here temporarily regarded as equivalent to theory although, in reality, the two are different from each other) can only get itself realized by interacting with the object according to a specific mode with the assistance of some material means. Here we can clearly see that the structure of an aim itself includes at least the three factors we have already mentioned above: perception of the nature of the laws pertaining to the realistic object; perception of the means for realizing what is foreseen; and perception of the mode according to which the subject and the object interact with each other. And a result has to do precisely with the subject acting directly in accordance with its perception in these three aspects. A problem occurring in whichever aspect is to directly affect the result of practice. Therefore, in the process of testing theory by practice, one cannot depart from logical analysis for a single moment; a practice excluding logical analysis can only be based on the utilitarian view of practice, which can neither help perceive truth, nor test truth. When an aim fails in the course of practice, the most important thing for a logical analysis of the result of practice is to find the direct cause for the failures; this would avoid projecting a part to the whole, and hence preclude the possibility of negating the whole chain because of a problem in a single link. This point is especially important in the testing of a complicated perception.

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Correct Reflection of Results of Practice

Beijing ZHIXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 6, 25 Jun 80
pp 54-56

[Article by Meng Xianzhong [1322 2009 1813], Wang Yanbin [3769 3601 3453],
Liu Renke [0491 0432 0344], Wang Yitang [3769 5030 1016], and Hu Hao [5170 4110]:
"It Is Necessary to Reflect Results of Practice Correctly"]

[Text] During the 2 years since the discussion of the question on the criterion for testing truth was launched, the principle of taking practice as the only criterion for testing truth has come to be accepted by more and more people. But to actually and not just orally uphold this criterion is a rather complicated task and requires the solution of a series of questions. One of such questions is to objectively and correctly reflect the results of practice.

Objectively and correctly reflecting the results of practice does not constitute a question in the eyes of certain people, because the results of practice are clearly there for all to see. But this question is not so simple. True, the results of practice are objective, and there can be only one correct reflection of the results of the same practice. Yet, people's reflection of the results of practice may not always be correct. People are often likely to derive several different, or even sharply contradictory perceptions from results of the same practice.

Before the armed uprising of the Russian people in December 1905, Lenin was of the opinion that armed uprising was the most important means for overthrowing the Tsarist system and winning the democratic republican system. The result of practice was that this uprising ended in defeat. How were people to correctly treat this result of practice? Prihanov maintained that the result of practice proved that the path of violent revolution was erroneous, saying: "It was never necessary to take up arms." But Lenin replied: "Exactly to the contrary, it was always necessary to take up arms more resolutely, more courageously, and more actively; it should have been explained to the masses that it would simply not do to rely entirely on peaceful strikes and it was necessary to carry out armed struggles heroically, dauntlessly, and relentlessly" ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 1, p 666). Of the same result of practice, the reflections of Prihanov and Lenin were not only different but exactly opposite to each other.

Similar situations can be seen in various realms of our social life: When a scientific experiment ends in failure, some would think that the failure of the experiment proves that the original conceptualization and program were faulty, whereas some would think that even though the experiment temporarily ends in failure, it does not necessarily prove that the original conceptualization and program were faulty. When forests are destroyed for land-reclaiming purpose and crop production increases as a result, some would think that since crop production has increased, it shows that it was correct to destroy the forests and reclaim the land, whereas some would think that dependence on the destruc-

tion of forests for the reclaiming of land and crop production increase, like carving flesh to mend a scar, is bound to have endless ill consequences. Countless facts tell us that, in respect to the result of the same practice, people may reflect it correctly to have the objectivity of the result of the practice that was originally objective kept intact so as to achieve a unity of the two, but people may also reflect it with some distortion to have subjective discretion added to the result of the practice that was originally objective and thereby create a split between the two. Among the many reflections of this result of the same practice, there may be only one which is correct and all the rest may be incorrect, correct and incorrect ones may be mixed, or they may all be incorrect. Relatively speaking, there are more situations of this kind in the realms of scientific research than realms of our daily life, more in the realms of social struggle than in the realms of struggle for production.

When we point out, under the premise of a firm acknowledgment that people's minds should and can indeed correctly reflect the results of practice, the possibility on the part of people's minds, as a matter of fact, to reflect the results of practice with some distortion, this is obviously different from agnosticism; this is, instead, an adherence to the dialectical point of view that thinking and existence are both opposites and in unity.

The fact that, in respect to the result of the same practice, people can derive several different or even sharply contradictory perceptions is not strange, because the concrete process through which people perceive the results of practice contains itself such a possibility.

First of all, we know that the result of a practice often comes from the contradictory movements of many factors. In order to achieve an objective reflection of the result of such a practice, we must take possession of all factual data on the result of the practice, study and master all its aspects and "interferences." But, because of subjective reasons, it is often not easy for people to do so.

Secondly, the result of a practice is often a complex and complicated entity which externally reflects colorful and variegated phenomena and internally contains many false appearances. It is possible for phenomena to conceal substance, and it is very easy for false appearances to confuse people's senses. All this brings difficulties to people's attempt to uncover the substance of the result of a practice and the nature of its internal laws, and is likewise liable to lead to a distortion of the result of that practice.

Furthermore, in order to achieve an objective reflection of the result of a practice, we must also use the dialectical-materialistic method of analysis. If our approach to factual data is not to master them from the suntotal of all facts and from their interconnections but to take our own wishes and tastes as the criteria for inclusion or exclusion, then it would also be impossible for our reflection of the result of a practice to be objective and correct.

When people make a distorted reflection of the result of a practice, there are, apart from causes pertaining to the theory of cognition, often social causes involved; and, in a society where classes still exist, there are usually profound root causes pertaining to classes. These are reflected especially saliently in social struggle and in the realms of philosophy and social sciences are reflected in this concept. Because it is in these realms that people derive two sharply contradictory conclusions from the result of the same practice, and many situations cannot be simply explained by causes in respect to perception. When conclusions turn out to be sharply contradictory to each other, only if we step beyond the realm of perception and search from the profound contradiction between people's relations based on interests in the economic realm can we find the rational explanation.

Perception is always concrete, and the result of a practice is also always concrete; the truthful nature of a certain concrete perception can only be tested by a corresponding concrete result of practice. Since people's reflection of a certain concrete result of practice may be correct and may also be distorted, then how can this concrete result of practice undertake to be the only objective criterion for testing the truthful nature of the corresponding concrete perception?

We are of the opinion that the correct answer to this question can only be: it must objectively reflect the authenticity of the result of practice. If people's reflection of the result of a certain perception is objective, then, along with this their judgment of the truthful nature of that certain perception will also be correct, and only thus can it be said that they have insisted on the criterion of practice. Contrariwise, if people's reflection of the result of a certain practice is distorted, then, along with this their judgment of the truthful nature of certain perception is bound to be erroneous, and in this case they have actually deviated from the criterion of practice. Therefore, objective, correct reflection of the result of practice is an indispensable link in the process through which truth is tested by practice. Without this link, it would be sheer empty words for someone to say that he actually insisted on the criterion of practice.

If we place this question in the total process of people's perceiving the world and changing the world and examine it in that context, its significant meaning can be seen even more clearly. The total process of people's perceiving the world and changing the world is reflected in practice -- perception -- repeated practice and their repetition in that order. In such an order, every practice plays a dual role, i. e., it is both the criterion for testing the truthful nature of the preceding perception and the source and foundation of the following perception. Every perception also plays a dual role, i. e., it is both a generalization and summation of the preceding practice and also provides a guiding ideology for the following practice and make the following practice, that is, repeated practice, a more effective practice on a higher level.

In every cycle of such practice -- perception -- repeated practice, if we succeed in objectively reflecting the result of the preceding practice, we would be in a position to correctly insist on, or correctly modify, the perception guiding that preceding practice, to guide the repeated practice with correct perception or more correct perception, and hence have this repeated practice elevated to a higher, new level. Under contrary conditions, if we happen to reflect the result of the preceding practice with some distortion, we would find ourselves incorrectly insisting on, or incorrectly modifying, the perception guiding that preceding practice, guiding this repeated practice with an incorrect perception or even more incorrect perception, and hence making it possible for this repeated practice to fall victim to past mistakes. Under the latter conditions, the greater the degree of distortion in people's reflection of the result of the preceding practice, the more severe would be their punishment by objective laws in their repeated practice.

The above significant meaning can be seen in both of the following two kinds of situations. One kind of situations is that, because a certain perception is more complex, its truthful nature cannot be clearly attested by a single practice but only by a repetition of many practices. Even so, if we succeed in reflecting the result of each practice as objectively as possible, then we would be able to reduce the blindness as much as possible in the activities of our practice and to accelerate the realization of a certain preconceived aim. Another kind of situation is that the result of practice has already proved that a certain perception was erroneous; if the practising person or the person guiding practice reflects the result of practice with distortion and time and again persists in such erroneous perception, then such person would bring increasingly heavier losses to his work. Therefore, we are of the opinion that putting forward and paying attention to, the question of correct reflection of the result of practice in our discussion of the criterion for testing truth is of great realistic significance to the magnificent cause of socialist modernization in which the people of our country are engaged.

Difference of Criterion between Marxism, Pragmatism

Beijing ZHIXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 6, 25 Jun 80
pp 56-58, 51

[Article by Wang Jianwei [3769 1696 0251]: "The Difference in Principle between the Criterion of Practice in Marxism and the 'Criterion of Practice' According to Pragmatism"]

[Text] In our discussion of the criterion for testing truth, some comrades have put forward this question: Marxism speaks of practice, pragmatism also speaks of practice; Marxism thinks that practice is the only criterion for testing truth, pragmatism also thinks that "practice is the only criterion": then, what is the difference, after all, between them?

First of all, the practice Marxism speaks of is all the activity relating to people's attempt at changing the objective world; it is social practice; but the "practice" pragmatism speaks of is the isolated, blind action by which an individual instinctively "copes with the environment."

Concerning the social nature of practice, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "In a classless society every person, as a member of society, joins in common effort with the other members, enters into definite relations of production with them and engages in production.... In all class societies, the members of the different social classes also enter, in different ways, into definite relations of production and engage in production to meet their material needs." In the activities of their practice to change nature and change society, the masses of the people, especially the toiling masses, have created the material wealth and spiritual civilization in society and have been propelling the history of society to develop forward. For this reason, Marxism holds that practice mainly means the practice by which millions upon millions of the masses of the people actively change the world. But pragmatism holds that theirs cannot be regarded as practice, and it calls instead the life of isolated individuals in "coping with the environment" as practice. It also says that this is "the way I treat things, and things treat me." Principal representative of pragmatism Dewey said without mincing any words: "Man discovers that he exists in a lucky world; his existence, to put it nastily, is a gamble" (cited from "Selected Discourses on Modern Bourgeois Philosophy of the West," p 194). James also said: "How can I win if I don't gamble? I am willing to gamble, so I simply gamble and do so without fear, just as if I never lost anything" (cited indirectly from "Works of Hu Shi [5170 6684]," Second Collection, vol 2, p 255)! From this, it can be seen that what pragmatism calls "practice," symbolically speaking, is no other than an individual's activity in "trying his luck" and "gambling." Very obviously, such activity in "trying one's luck" and "gambling" has nothing in common with the practice of millions upon millions of the masses of the people actively changing the objective world as spoken of by Marxism.

Secondly, the way Marxism speaks of practice as the only criterion for testing truth means a recognition of that which is proved to be in accord with the nature of the laws pertaining to the outside world through the test of people's social practice as truth; but the way pragmatism speaks of "practice as the only criterion" means the recognition of that experience as truth which an individual considers to be satisfactory or capable of providing him with the most effective guidance and suited to various aspects of his life through the practice in his individual life.

Lenin pointed out: "Pragmatism comes from the Greek word *pragma* -- activity, action; it is namely a philosophy of action.... It propagates experience, and propagates experience alone; it regards practice as the only criterion; it follows a general trend of pragmatism;...it relies on the saying that science is not "an absolute duplication of reality"; and...smoothly infers God from all this. This is for the sake of practice, and only for the sake of practice..."

("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 2, note on p 349). This criterion of practice in pragmatism absolutely is not the criterion of practice Marxism speaks of. The master of pragmatism James clearly said in "Pragmatism" that pragmatism's "only criterion for testing a probable truth is to see which can give us most effective guidance, which is suited to various aspects of our life, so that nothing is amiss when it is all united with various demands of our experience. If a theological concept can achieve this and, especially, if the concept of God can really achieve this, then how can pragmatism deny the existence of God? If some take a concept with such great success in pragmatic use as 'untrue,' then pragmatism can very well say that such a view is totally meaningless" (in "Selected Discourses on Modern Bourgeois Philosophy of the West," p 154). This is to say that to judge whether or not a perception is truth need only to start from my desire and see if things in the outside world can satisfy my own desire. That which can satisfy such an individual desire and demand is truth; otherwise, falsehood. What else can this be if not a naked subjective, idealistic criterion? In contrast to this, Marxism holds that "To judge whether or not a perception or theory is truth does not depend on how one feels subjectively but on what the objective result of social practice is. The criterion of truth can only be social practice." In thus objectively taking the perception that accords with the nature of laws pertaining to objective things as truth, Marxism's criterion is strictly different from the subjective, idealistic "criterion of practice" of pragmatism.

Thirdly, what Marxism means in maintaining that truth must be tested by the effects of social practice is the effects of objective practice, whereas the effects pragmatism speaks of mean the degrees to which an individual's subjective needs can be satisfied.

Concerning the criterion of truth having to be tested by the effects of social practice, Comrade Mao Zedong already discussed this question in his "On Practice." Comrade Mao Zedong said: "What actually happens is that man's knowledge is verified only when he achieves the anticipated results in the process of social practice (material production, class struggle or scientific experiment). If a man wants to succeed in his work, that is, to achieve the anticipated results, he must bring his ideas into correspondence with the laws of the objective external world; if they do not correspond, he will fail in his practice." This is to say, we must let the effects of practice test whether or not people's ideas correctly reflect objective realities. And pragmatism also holds that whether a concept is true or not depends entirely on effects. Hu Shi said: "All meaningful ideas are liable to have practical effects; such effects constitute the meaning of those ideas. If we ask whether a given idea has any meaning or what meaning does it have, we need only to ascertain what practical effects that idea may have; we need only to ask what effects it will have if it is recognized, and what effects it will have if it is not recognized" ("Works of Hu Shi," Second Collection, vol 2, p 247). What are these "effects" pragmatism speaks of? Hu Shi explained this point with a colloquial analogy. He said: "A concept (an idea) is like a check on which the amount that can be cashed is indicated; if this bank of nature immediately cashes this check upon receiving it,

then the check is genuine -- that concept is true" ("Works of Hu Shi," Second Collection, vol 2, p 260). Here the key lies in how the check is written. The "check" of pragmatism is written not according to the correct reflection of objective realities but according to "my" subjective needs. Whatever and how much "I" need are then written on the "check." The so-called "practice" here is to have this "check" cashed by whatever means. Once it is cashed, it becomes truth; as to whether or not it accords with objective laws, that would be entirely unrelated, different matter. Obviously, this is a purely subjective theory of truth. When Lenin criticized Machism, he said: "From the materialist point of view, the 'success' of man's practice proves that our symbol and the objective essence of the thing sensed by us accord with each other. From the egotist point of view, 'success' is all I need in practice, and practice can also be examined separately from the theory of cognition" ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 2, p 139). Testing truth by the satisfaction of individual subjective needs is thus the idealistic essence of pragmatism in speaking of testing truth by "effects," and is also where the fundamental difference of the Marxist criterion of testing truth by the objective effects of social practice lies.

Fourthly, the way Marxism speaks of a truth tested by practice as being useful means that a truth tested by practice which correctly reflects objective things and the law of their development is useful to people attempting to change the world; it points to the disposition and function of truth; whereas the way pragmatism speaks of "that which is useful is truth" means that subjective needs are truth; it points to the basis and criterion of truth.

Marxism holds that truth is useful. A truth in natural science is a great force for people to change nature; it is capable of speeding up our four modernizations. A Marxist truth can guide the proletariat and the toiling people to win victories in their revolutionary struggles. But the reason why these truths are useful is because they correctly reflect objective things and the law of their development. But pragmatism speaks of "that which is useful is truth," as James said: "we can both say that 'because it is true, therefore it is useful' and also say that 'because it is useful, therefore it is true'" (cited from "Selected Discourses on Modern Bourgeois Philosophy of the West," p 158). Here "being useful" and "being true" are equated to each other. Whatever is useful is truth. When it is useful to us today, it is truth today; when it becomes no longer useful tomorrow, it will no longer be truth tomorrow; what does this have in common with the Marxist criterion of practice? and where is it consistent with the Marxist dictum that a truth tested by practice is useful? There is a strict difference between truth being useful and "that which is useful is truth"; we can absolutely not turn truth being useful upside down and into "that which is useful is truth" at random.

Fifthly, the way Marxism speaks of truth as a process means that along with the development of practice truth follows the process of developing from the relative to the absolute, and that the testing of truth by practice is also a process; whereas the way pragmatism speaks of truth as a process means that "when

the environment changes, truth also changes along," thus it recognizes only the relative nature of perception but not the absolute nature of perception, and thereby negates objective truth.

Marxism acknowledges that people's perception of the concrete process in each given stage of development possesses only truth of a relative nature; it therefore requires people's perception to shift forward along with the shifting of the objective process and does not allow them to turn their perception of the concrete process into absolute: this is something we must insist upon. Because if the relative nature of perception is denied, the development of perception is also denied; this would turn theory into dogma and lead to the petrification of people's thinking. But Marxism will definitely not negate absolute truth because of this, but regards truth merely as a process of developing from the relative to the absolute. The testing of truth by practice, too, is not all completed at once, but constitutes a process of repeated testing. Practice in a given stage of history can only prove part of the truthful nature of man's perception; indefinitely developing practice proves the whole of the truthful nature of man's perception. Here, dialectical materialism acknowledges both the relative nature of truth and the absolute nature of truth. The premise in both cases is that truth develops along with the development of practice, and moves from the relative to the absolute continuously through its continued testing by practice. But when pragmatism speaks of truth as a process, it means that "when the environment changes, truth also changes along." Hu Shi said: people "need only to ask, when we encounter this situation at this time, how should we cope with it: such method of coping with this situation is no other than 'this truth'" ("Works of Hu Shi," vol 2, p 416). If this is the case, how can anyone speak of objective truth? Also, according to the theory of "environment," all truths are relative, "those absolute truths are overhung, abstract, vague, baseless, and unprovable" ("Works of Hu Shi," vol 2, p 415). Obviously, such a "theory of the process of truth" which hinges on "environment," which is truth today when convenient to me and which turns into non-truth tomorrow when inconvenient to me, is entirely different from the dialectical-materialistic theory of the process of truth.

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PARTY AND STATE

SICHUAN INTELLECTUALS PROMOTED TO LEADING POSTS

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO Chinese 6 Aug 80 p 3

[News report by Tian Shuchang [3944 2885 2490]: "Change the Composition of the Cadre Ranks; Meet the Needs of the Work of the Four Modernizations"]

[Text] The Nanping County Party Committee has adopted effective measures to select and appoint a great number of professional and intellectual cadres of political integrity to leading posts.

Nanping is a mountainous county inhabited by people of the Tibetan and Han nationalities. In the past, it was noted for having too many worker and peasant cadres and too few professional and intellectual cadres. In an effort to change the composition of its cadre contingent and to raise its scientific and cultural level, the Nanping County Party Committee has selected cadres of minority nationalities to pursue advanced studies in politics, economics, science, and culture at central, provincial, and prefectural nationality colleges which will enable them to sharpen their professional skills. On the other hand, it has taken bold steps to appoint professional and intellectual cadres of political integrity to leading posts so that they can bring their wisdom and talent into full play.

Wen Chengzhi [2429 2052 1807] was a graduate of the Botany Department at Southwest Agricultural College. Since his assignment to Nanping County, he has lived frugally and worked enthusiastically. After joining the agricultural workteam and spending time acquiring some basic crop-growing skills, he has been promoted by the County Party Committee to the positions of deputy secretary and secretary of the party committee of Baihe and Tazang communes and deputy secretary of the Baihe District Party Committee. While holding these leading positions, he has organized agricultural production with professional skills that he acquired from college. He has been warmly praised by commune members for his outstanding achievements in agricultural production. Since his assignment to Nanping, Zong Huzhi [1350 0735 1807], graduate of the Agricultural Machinery Department of Sichuan Agricultural College, was first hired by an agricultural machinery plant as a technician. Four years later, he joined the party. So that he can fully demonstrate his professional skills, he accepted a promotion to the position of director of the county agricultural machinery plant and secretary of its party branch, with the approval of the County Party Committee. From that position, he has formulated a series of effective and feasible production plans, has kept his plant in good shape, and has transformed it into one of the advanced industrial units in the Aba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. Leng Dengya [0397 4098 0068] studied agronomy at the Sichuan Provincial Agricultural School

before liberation. Since his assignment to Nanping County in 1957, he has worked diligently. Because he was born of a family of the exploiting classes, he was never promoted despite his achievements. Not until the downfall of the "gang of four" did he receive a promotion from agricultural technician to the position of director of an agrotechnical station. Since that promotion, he has worked harder than ever, and has cooperated with other agricultural technicians in promoting hybrid corns and in presenting agrotechnical lectures to cadres at the county, district, commune, and brigade levels. He has also compiled and printed technical materials on crop growth and field management for distribution to leading groups at all levels for reference. In this way he has helped increase agricultural production for several years in a row. At present, some 24 percent of college-graduate cadres have joined the leading groups at county, district, and commune levels, and many of them have become their No 1 or No 2 leaders.

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PARTY AND STATE

RELATIONSHIP OF ECONOMIC LAW, MORAL STANDARDS DISCUSSED

Present-day Contradiction Denied

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 26 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Zhou Tingnan [0719 2185 0589]: "Are There Contradictions Between Moral Standards and Current Economic Policy?"]

[Text] Some comrades believe that a part of the people in present-day society haggle over every ounce for their own individual benefit, paying attention only to immediate profit and not the future, creating an unhealthy moral climate, the principal reason for which is that the present economic policy is off-balance, and that such policies as distribution according to work, the system of awards, and making economics active tend to encourage people's individualism and an ideology of selfishness. For this reason they feel that there is a contradiction between present economic policies and moral standards. It is worth studying whether this viewpoint is correct or not.

If we are to clarify this question, we must first be explicit about what kind of moral standards we need during the present period. The socialist society we live in today is the lowest stage of communism, and therefore, the morals appropriate to the present stage are the lowest stage of communist morals, which are also socialist morals, and we can only proceed from today's social conditions and use socialist moral standards to place requirements on and appraise today's things. Thus, moral standards and present economic policies can be mutually appropriate and generally not generate contradictions or clashes. For example, an advanced producer who studies science and technology intensely has great innovative creativity in production, and in accordance with policy receives an award. He has made a contribution to the country and has himself received some profit, and this is, in a way, in accordance with the principle of to each according to his work, as well as being conduct in accordance with socialist moral standards. We cannot believe that he is seeking personal profit because he received an award and thus lower our appraisal of his conduct. On the contrary, we should see the award as a special incentive given by the country to a laborer, and in a certain sense, you could say that whoever should receive the greatest award must also have the highest honor. Also, there are unemployed youths in some towns who can, within the limits

of what is permitted by national policy, work for themselves, arrange for their own capital, and individually operate small stands or shops for the service of the people. Under the country's present relatively difficult economic conditions, to depend on the labor of your own two hands and develop your own way of making a living, while at the same time providing some convenience for the lives of the masses, is also a contribution to socialism. To do this is not only appropriate to present economic policy but also does not go beyond the bounds of socialist moral standards. Therefore, not only are present economic policies and socialist moral standards not in opposition to one another, they are even coordinated and consistent, and promote the development of social productive force.

However, why is it that some comrades have felt that there are contradictions between present economic policy and moral standards? My feeling is that this is principally because comrades maintaining this viewpoint have been unable to proceed from facts in considering the men and affairs of a socialist society in the light of socialist moral standards, but have used unrealistically high communist moral criteria, such as that labor should not consider remuneration, not consider its own benefit in the slightest, but should work especially for others, etc., and have universally placed these demands on the people of a socialist society, using them as a rule to measure present policies. The result is that they feel present economic policies are askew, and that there are contradictions between moral standards and present economic policies. For example, as they see it, distribution to each according to his work is haggling; concern for the material welfare of the masses causes the growth of individualism; adopting a system of awards causes money to take the lead. One can remember that a few years ago, when the "gang of four" was opposing the so-called "bourgeois right," there were people at some coal mines who, under the control of the ultra-leftist trend of thought, mouthed the high-sounding idea that labor should not consider remuneration and advocated canceling the underground differential that had been in effect for many years, viewing the underground differential that the party and government had set up to protect the health of the mine workers as a poison that corrupted the spirit of the miners, assuming that people should only be allowed unselfish thoughts, and that in the understanding that labor is the first requirement of life, productive activism would arise spontaneously. This ultra-leftist viewpoint, in representing the relationship between moral standards and present economic policy, places the two in direct opposition, and to break away from moral standards that are too high for actual social conditions in the present stage, denies present economic policies that proceed from reality to the extent that artificial confusions are created, obstructing to the extent that development of productive force is disrupted.

Of course, simultaneously with the implementation of the present economic policy, we must also strengthen political and ideological work and moral education. We cannot assume that for the present we should handle things according to economic laws and economic policies alone, and that it makes no difference whether we discuss moral standards or not; nor should we assume that we need only carry out the policy and raise production, and then people's moral level will automatically be raised. After the victory in the October

revolution, Lenin spoke of the mission of the younger generation and pointed out solemnly, we must "carry out anti-exploitation education" and "education against the habit and psychology of 'I will make my profit, and nothing else matters'." In implementing the present economic policies, we must persist in carrying out political and ideological education, making moral education an important part of its content, continuously raise the level of people's socialist moral ideology, and struggle against all such illegal and undisciplined behavior and remnant ideology of the exploiting classes as is represented by opportunism, enriching oneself at the expense of others, and fattening oneself at the public trough, to guarantee implementation of party and national policies.

A 'Lofty Tone'

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 26 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Yu Yueming, Shanghai First Textile Machinery Plant: "Haven't We Suffered Enough From High-sounding Slogans?"]

[Text] Didn't we learn a lesson in 1958? Expecting to erect a skyscraper when you have no substantial material foundation is an empty dream contrary to reality. Its result mercilessly proved that we today are unable to complete this great and formidable task--to make all the people have a firm communist moral outlook. In the important historical stage of socialism, we must on the one hand advocate and propagandize a communist moral outlook, the better to solve those unavoidable contradictions in social development, and on the other hand we should steadfastly and realistically manage affairs in accordance with socialist economic laws, mobilize all positive factors, invest great effort in economic development, implement the "four modernizations" as early as possible, and accelerate the pace of economic development. The moral concepts advocated should suit the economic foundation. In the past, we vainly adopted a "lofty tone" but did not manage affairs in accordance with economic laws, and didn't we suffer greatly for it? Could it be that this was not enough to be used as a mirror?

Moral Propaganda

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 26 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Zheng Chuangren, Shanghai Electrical Equipment Wholesale Department: "Moral Propaganda Is a Lubricant, Not a Cure-all Oil"]

[Text] When the "gang of four" was rampaging about, they promoted an ultra-leftist line and chattered away at their so-called moral propaganda, departing from objective reality, causing people to distrust and dislike moral propaganda, with the result that it led to many sham examples and encouraged an opportunist psychology in some people. Therefore, the ultra-leftist pernicious influence must be cleaned out of moral propaganda, and it must give careful attention to science.

I feel that moral propaganda can only be used to supplement economic law, and can certainly not be substituted for it. The content of the propaganda should be appropriate to the times and appropriate with regard to quantity, not excessive or overdone. Moral propaganda is not a "cure-all," but it should be regarded as a "lubricating oil." "Lubricating oil" is used only to lubricate the machinery, and cannot solve problems concerning the nature of the "machinery." These problems can only be fundamentally solved by proceeding from the social "machinery" itself, or by proceeding from a grasp of economic law.

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

STATE COUNCIL'S ACTION ON CAPSIZE OF OIL DRILLING PLATFORM APPLAUDED

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 80 p 1

[Editorial: "A Serious Warning"]

[Text] Workers on the economic front and the people in Tianjin municipality have expressed warm support for the State Council's decision on handling the incident that caused the "Bohai No 2" oil drilling platform to capsize and sink. In addition to distinguishing those who deserve commendation from others who should be punished, this decision reflects a serious and conscientious attitude toward this incident as well as a high sense of responsibility to the people. In other words, this incident has been handled by the state council in accord with our national interests. The State Council's decision is also of high educational value to us, because it has further increased our confidence in our country's ability to realize the four modernizations.

Since it was publicly reported, the "Bohai No 2" incident has jolted the nation into a shock, and has aroused nationwide indignation. This tragic incident, unprecedented in the history of oceanographic exploration, took a toll of lives of 72 class brothers and caused a direct economic loss of 37 million yuan to the state. The State Council's decision pointed out: this incident was a serious warning not only to the Ministry of Petroleum Industry but also to other industries, enterprises and units throughout the country.

The incident was also a serious warning to Tianjin, where it occurred. The harsh facts remind our comrades, especially leading and responsible comrades, that they should study and observe laws governing economic construction, and should strictly act according to the objective laws, and that any method based on subjective imagination instead of scientific laws will never work, and therefore should no longer be used as a guide to the economic construction. Yet, in the course of directing economic construction, many leading comrades on the economic front still mess everything up by issuing subjective orders. Thus far, no genuine efforts have ever been made by them to study the aforementioned laws as a guide to their future action. The "Bohai No 2" platform was a large-scale equipment imported from abroad. There were strict rules and regulations governing its management and operation. But it was strange to note that even 6 years after its delivery to us, the translation

of some foreign language data on this oil drilling platform had not been done by the Oceanic Petroleum Prospecting Bureau; the "temporary regulations governing its operation and management" drawn up by our authorities concerned were not conscientiously implemented. It was precisely this factor that led it to make that ill-fated decision to shift its position from one well to another on short notice without taking into account the objective conditions and imminent bad weather. Under such circumstances, only a miracle could save it from its doom!

For years, we have drawn what we have consistently called "our successful experiences" in economic construction from the mass movements, and the people's war carried out by the task force, and shock teams. Scientific management has long been beyond our reach. Over 20 years of practice have proven that any unscientific method not based on the principles of seeking truth from facts, and planning work on a solid basis, and any workstyle of emphasizing only the mobilization of equipment and human resources without checking the possibility of whether the planning works or is economically feasible cannot be relied upon to fulfill our economic construction. The old workstyle of sidestepping the party's policies, and trampling under foot useful rules and regulations that once brought our national economy to a standstill or set it back by years should be discarded forever. These are painful lessons, too painful to forget! Shortly after the "Bohai No 2" incident occurred, some of the Oceanic Petroleum Prospecting Bureau's leading comrades shamelessly said: "We have to pay some tuition for learning this lesson." It must be said that this kind of "tuition" is really too high to be paid by anyone.

Some other shortcomings that still exist among some leading comrades today include blind obedience, excessive regimentation of life, gross disregard of the need to display democracy, and tendencies to issue coercive orders to mess everything up. Economic undertakings are a very complicated scientific process that cannot be hastily handled and accomplished by a few persons. In planning major projects, we must carefully conduct investigations and study and humbly listen to different opinions. Surely, we must race against time in order to accelerate the tempo of economic construction. But in doing so, we must also pay attention to its economic results. We cannot risk the loss of lives and property in order to speed up our economic construction. Is it true that only a fool wants to do that? We have learned that before it was decided to move the "Bohai No 2" oil drilling platform from one well to another, some comrades provided the leading members of the Ministry of Petroleum and the Oceanic Petroleum Prospecting Bureau who were in charge of its operation with important objective suggestions. Unfortunately, these suggestions were ignored, thus causing a tragedy that otherwise could have been avoided. Can we take this as a painful lesson to be remembered?

The incident that caused the "Bohai No 2" platform to sink to the bottom of the sea tells us that whatever we do, we must take into consideration the safety of workers. The State Council's decision pointed out: "All economic departments and manufacturing enterprises throughout the country must consider safety in production a matter of prime importance. Leading comrades of

various enterprises, related government organizations and trade unions who are in charge of administrative affairs should adopt every conceivable measure to insure the safety of workers; they should no longer take any reckless and thoughtless attitude toward them." Clearly, that incident, or unnecessary sacrifice, was caused by those leading comrades who commanded the platform in violation of regulations. Responding to this charge, some leading members of the Oceanic Petroleum Prospecting Bureau contended that "sacrifices cannot be avoided through struggle; we should fear neither hardships nor death." Our present socialist economic construction and production are promoted with the aim of satisfying the growing demands of the people for improving their material and spiritual well-being. How can we sacrifice the precious lives of workers as a price for success in economic construction? This being the case, where is the oft-repeated superiority of the socialist system? Practical experiences accumulated by many units have proven that many unnecessary deaths in the course of economic construction can be avoided as long as we value the lives of workers as the most precious assets of our country, take effective measures to insure their safety in production, act according to the economic laws and do everything carefully. The incident that caused the "Bohai No 2" platform to capsize and sink is a serious warning to us all. It reflected that many major problems still exist on our economic front. Every unit and every leading comrade involved in this incident should reexamine their ways of thinking and acting and should do everything possible to eliminate the pernicious influence of the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" over the economic front. Only in this way can they accomplish the heavy and difficult task of the four modernizations with better results.

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CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

MILITARY INSTRUCTOR UPDATES TRAINING IN TACTICS

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 1 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Wen Zichun [3306 1311 2504] and Zhu Zhengping [2612 3630 1627]: "Spreading His Wings--Outstanding Instructor Guo Xingfu [6751 5281 4395] Takes New Strides"]

[Text] When Guo Xingfu is mentioned, people naturally think of the "Guo Xingfu teaching method" that he created in the decade of the sixties. However, during the unheard-of calamity of the Great Cultural Revolution, the "Guo Xingfu teaching method" met the same fate as Guo Xingfu himself--being cruelly trampled upon. In March 1979, the verdict on Guo Xingfu was completely reversed, and the reputation of his method was restored. But Guo Xingfu, deputy director of the Teaching and Research Section of the Nanjing Units Infantry School, was definitely not content to rest on his former laurels. In 1964, well-remembered and esteemed Marshal Yeh had exhorted him: With the development of the situation, we need to study ways of attacking tanks. He was determined to emancipate his mind, boldly make reforms, and come up with a new teaching method suited to the peculiarities of modern warfare.

In April of this year, after the school had received the task from the party committee of the Nanjing units to be the instructor of the Divisional Second-Class Rotation Training Unit, it decided to put Guo Xingfu in charge of the teaching group. After receiving his assignment, he moved his bedroll to the rotational training unit, and during the day he attended lectures and did the assigned schoolwork together with the students, running up against all sorts of difficult problems; in the evening, like one famished and thirsty, he read all kinds of military treatises, ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign. His desk was piled high with over 50 military treatises, including "Sunzi's Art of War" and "Teaching and Studying the Yugoslav Method of Attacking Tanks at Close Range." Opening any of these books at random, one would see that it was covered with red and blue pencil marks. Guo Xingfu paid special attention to the study of the experiences gained in the war of self-defensive counter-attack against Vietnam and of the tactics teaching plans of the infantry schools of the fraternal units. He learned by heart some incisive, original training methods from the tactics teaching plans of the infantry schools of the Beijing, Shenyang, Guangzhou, and Fuzhou units. The key of modern military science and knowledge opened up a new world in the realm of military tactics teaching and research. Slowly, Guo Xingfu, on the foundation of his former teaching plan, formed many new ideas.

When reforming his teaching method, Guo Xingfu not only studied intensively and thought with deep concentration, but also sought advice from everybody and was not ashamed to ask questions. The form and method of an infantry assault in the past did not depart from the method of pressing on to the finish without letup. Guo Xingfu

thought to himself: In modern warfare, the defensive obstacles set up by enemy tanks will be deep, of many kinds, and with close firepower control. If the assault method is still one of pressing on to the finish without letup, then there are bound to be unnecessary casualties. In order to find a way to improve this tactical movement, Guo Xingfu and several other instructors one after another went to six companies [zhongdui 0022 7130] and studied with 23 instructors who had taken part in the war of self-defense counterattack against Vietnam, seeking to learn with an open mind. At the same time, he consulted a large amount of data and calculated the firing safety limits of various sizes of cannon. He also asked comrades at military training and research units to brief him in detail on the ability of cannons of various kinds to fire in coordination with an infantry assault. He then proposed that the method of all-out assault be changed to the method of artillery fire accompanying our side's assault. This proposal was unanimously endorsed by the instructors and students.

In order to meet his responsibilities in a future war, Guo Xingfu restudied, meticulously and conscientiously, every tiny tactical movement in his original teaching plan, doing his best to meet the requirements of actual battle. In the past, when an individual soldier was moving to come in close contact with the enemy, he would drop to ground and fire his weapon when he first saw the enemy. Nobody had ever before carefully considered whether this small movement was reasonable. But Guo Xingfu did not let this problem slip by without studying it. He thought to himself: When soldiers dropped to the ground and fired their weapons as they came in close contact with the enemy, it was assumed that the fire control zone of the enemy's forward position was only 200 to 300 meters, but in modern warfare the enemy's fire control zone is 600 to over 700 meters, exceeding the effective range of hand-carried weapons; thus, to fire at the enemy at this range is meaningless, and also increases the unnecessary drain on physical strength. For this reason, Guo Xingfu revised this tactical movement in his original teaching plan so that it became a tactical movement determined by the specific conditions on the battlefield--i.e., if the distance is outside the effective range of handheld weapons, then the essential movement should be to defend against artillery or chemical attack and if the distance is within the effective range of handheld weapons, then the essential movement should be to fire the weapons.

In close coordination with the instructors and students, Guo Xingfu, after more than 2 months of hard work produced six tactical lesson plans for squad level and below, including "Infantry Squad Reconnaissance" and "Strengthening the Infantry Squad's Night Defense." Everybody said: "Guo Xingfu's reform of the methods of teaching tactics at squad level and below has broken through old conventions. This kind of training will make soldiers flexible in tactics."

The great eagle-roc certainly does not curl up because of wounds, and as long as it has strength it spreads its wings and struggles to fly. Isn't Guo Xingfu precisely this kind of eagle-roc?!

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CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

MILITIA POLITICAL WORK VITAL IN NEW SITUATION

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jul 80 p 1

[Article by Han Qilin [7281 0202 586D], Han Qilin [7281 0796 2651], and Kong Dehong [1313 1795 1347]: "In the New Situation Militia Political Work Can Only Be Strengthened and Cannot Be Weakened"]

[Text] From 9 to 15 July, the Jiangsu Provincial Military District held a militia political work forum in Suzhou. The forum studied the question of how, in the new situation, to further strengthen militia political work.

Attending this forum were leading comrades and political work cadres from all military subdistricts, the Political Department of Nanjing Garrison District, and all people's armed forces departments in the province.

Guo Jinlin [6751 5855 2651], advisor of the Nanjing Military Region, and Bu Hanxiang [1580 3466 5980], deputy political commissar of the provincial military district, attended and spoke at the forum. The first stage of the forum was a meeting held in Wu County, Suzhou Prefecture, to exchange experience in militia political work, and the meeting was briefed on the experiences of 15 units.

The meeting fully affirmed that, ever since the shift in emphasis of the party work, militia political work throughout the province has obtained basic successes. The meeting focused on the problem of some comrades having insufficient understanding of the important position and role of militia political work, pointing out that, in the new situation, militia political work can only be strengthened and cannot be weakened. The main task in militia political work now and for a period of time in the future is to conscientiously implement the party's ideological and political lines and all its general and specific policies among the broad masses of militia soliders and cadres, mobilizing them to make new contributions to the construction and defense of the four modernizations.

The meeting raised demands for militia political work in the future. One demand is, based on the requirements, of the situation and the task, to emphasize widespread and profound education among the armed militiamen on "how to be a good militiaman," further increasing the militiamen's understanding of the strategic position and role of the militia so that they will consciously overcome the idea of lowering their guard during peacetime and of fearing the hardships and losses involved in being militiamen, and will increase their sense of honor and their sense of responsibility. People's armed forces departments at all levels, under the unified leadership of the

local party committees, should take the initiative to coordinate with local propaganda and cultural departments and with the CYL and other mass organizations to fully utilize in concert all kinds of propaganda fronts and instruments in this education. At the same time, they should pay attention to training and building up a strong backbone contingent for this education. The second demand is to continue to grasp firmly and well the important content in militia political work of developing and creating advanced units in the "three implementations." This activity should principally be developed among armed militia organizations. They must uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts and of strictly holding to the [truth] criterion. They must maintain the quarterly appraisals and checkups, thereby guarding against the idea of "winning eternal ease by one supreme effort." They must, in particular, arouse the enthusiasm of the basic-level party committees and people's armed forces departments in communes, towns, factories, and mines, developing this activity in a profound, protracted, and sound manner. The third demand is that the spirit of the provincial congress of full-time armed cadres be implemented conscientiously. The ideological education of full-time armed cadres must be strengthened, their work must be strongly supported, and warm solicitude must be shown for their life, thereby making them keep their minds on their jobs and do good work. Activities must be launched among full-time cadres to strive to be advanced workers.

The meeting pointed out that militia political work at present faces many new situations and new problems. People's armed forces departments at all levels must earnestly improve their work style, go deep into the basic levels to investigate and study, and bring out new ways of solving new problems, consciously being a good staff officer for the local party committees in strengthening the leadership of militia political work. They must pay attention to getting a good grip on typical cases, using the new experience gained at key points to guide the work in all areas.

The meeting demanded that party committees at all levels strengthen their leadership over militia political work, putting things in their proper places. Political commissars and political work departments must do their duty to the best of their ability by doing good work. The cadres of military departments must combine their militia work with good political and ideological work. At the same time, the roles of basic-level part-time militia political work cadres and of full-time people's armed cadres must be brought into play, thereby implementing militia political work at the basic levels.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PARTY LEADERS IN REGIMENT SET GOOD EXAMPLE

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 13 Aug 80 p 1

[Article by Lu Liguang [0712 4539 0948], Wu Yunlian [0702 0336 5114], and Su Yushu [1327 1878 5170]: "Leading Members of the Party Committee of a Certain Regiment in the Provincial Military District Accept the Supervision of the Masses and Persist in the Practice of Taking Part in Organizational Life With the Status of Ordinary Party Members"]

[Text] The leading members of the party committee of a certain regiment in Jiangsu Provincial Military District have studied the implementation of "Some Guidelines for Inner-Party Political Life," have persisted in the practice of taking part in organizational life with the status of ordinary party members, and have further developed the democratic work style within the party.

Based on the fact that the administrative work of the leading members is different, the party committee of this regiment put them in three party branches, further divided into three party groups, to lead organizational life. The party committee demanded that the departments concerned inspect, once each quarter, participation by the leading members of the committee in organizational life, that they not only inspect the frequency and content of this participation but also ascertain the reasons for their not taking part in organizational life, and that they commend those comrades who abide by the system of organizational life, while helping with criticism those who do not. Since the beginning of this year, 10 leading members of the regimental party committee, except when they were studying, holding meetings, or going down to stay in companies, did not miss taking part in organizational life because of private affairs. From January to July, each leading member of the party committee, on average, took part in organizational life on 19.5 occasions.

All leading comrades of the party committee of this regiment, when taking part in organizational life, appeared with the status of ordinary party members, and consciously accepted the administration of the party organization and the supervision of the masses of party members. Deputy regimental commander Liu Fugen [0491 0479 2704] once felt that his cultural level was low, that his age was advanced, and that he did not spend much time with his unit--all of which adversely affected his work and study. At a meeting of a group under a party branch, he set forth all of his thoughts and asked everybody to help him. The masses of party members gave him sincere criticism, which he accepted with an open mind. From that time on, he has kept his mind on his work and has striven hard to do well in building up the unit. In March of this year

some party members, at a party organizational life meeting, sharply criticized some leading members of the party committee and some office workers for having excessive living quarters and furniture, and suggested that they make a readjustment. The leading members of the party committee accepted the party members' criticism, adopted the masses' suggestion, and took the lead in giving up excess living quarters and furniture. Their action spurred on the office workers, and everybody in succession then gave up their excess living quarters and furniture, thereby providing in a fairly short time a fairly good solution for this "old, big and difficult" problem that had long eluded solution.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

HARDSHIPS OF MILITIAMEN OUTWEIGHED BY NATIONAL INTERESTS

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Sep 80 p 4

[Article by Bin Wuping [3453 2976 6097]: "On 'Balancing the Books'"]

[Text] Not long ago I ran into a militiaman who told me of the misery of being a militiaman: In training, one crawls, climbs, rolls, and fights, wearing out one or two more sets of clothing a year than other people do. By taking part in all the militia activities, much time is wasted that could be spent in household sideline occupations, and so in a year one earns several tens of yuan less than other people. When on sentry duty guarding the harvest, one offends many people. And difficult tasks are piled up and given to us militiamen. The crackling and sputtering of his "small multiplications" produced the following sum total: being a militiaman is a "losing" proposition.

Taking up this problem, I made a point of interviewing more militiamen. The majority of these comrades said: To be a militiaman, shouldering the heavy burden of building up the motherland and defending the four modernizations, is the unshirkable responsibility and honorable duty of a youth. During the revolutionary war period, militiamen jumped at the chance to support the front and take part in battle and to shed their blood in sacrificial actions, without caring in the slightest for their "losses." During the war of self-defensive counterattack against Vietnam, large contingents of militiamen left their parents and fellow villagers, crossed mountains, and forded rivers, bravely going into battle to coordinate with the troops in battering the Vietnamese bandits, without calculating in the slightest their "losses." Now the militiamen are engaged in military and political training. They spend a little time, wear out a few clothes, and take in a little less income, and so it looks like the individual is suffering losses, but the purpose of all this is to strive for victory in a future war against aggression. It concerns the life and death, the rise and fall of the motherland. Compared to the interests of the nation and of the revolution, what do a few losses to the individual count? Look! The abacus of these militiamen produces this striking calculation: It is worthwhile to be a militiaman!

Having written to this point, I thought of the words of the "Battle Song of the Chinese People's Volunteers": "By defending peace and by defending the motherland, we are defending our hometowns." This brings out the following principle: defense of the country, defense of the hometown, defense of the home--these three cannot be separated. If one wants to defend one's home, one must first defend one's country. If everybody was to calculate his immediate losses and be unwilling to be a militiaman,

be unwilling to take part in military and political training, and not make good preparations for war, then just think, if a foreign enemy one day trampled with iron heels on the territory of our country, what individual peace and happiness would we have to speak about! In our country's recent history, this kind of humiliating tragedy has occurred several times, and we should draw from this a bitter lesson. Taking the long-term view, there is no reason to calculate that being a militiaman today is a losing proposition.

Naturally, this is not to say that we should not be concerned about the militiamen's vital interests and should not solve the problems involved in remunerating them for their militia activities and training. These problems directly concern and affect the militiamen's life and morale, and should cause the leadership to pay serious attention to them and conscientiously and satisfactorily provide solutions for them. But in being a militiaman, one certainly cannot manipulate an abacus and only do "small multiplications." This kind of bookkeeping will make a person forget his ideals, lose his ambition, and dispel his enthusiasm. We must balance the big books of defending and constructing the four modernizations, correctly handle the relationship between the interests of the state and the collective and the interests of the individual, cherish the motherland, and strive hard to do well in building up the militia.

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CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

VALUE, FUNCTION OF TANK TRACKS DESCRIBED

Beijing BINGQI ZHISHI [ORDNANCE KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 3 1980 pp 6-8

[Article by Yu Defu [0205 1795 1318]: "On Tank Tracks"]

[Text] Everybody knows that, although both trucks and tanks are equipped with wheels, the truck's wheels run directly on the road, while the tank's wheels must run on tracks. Obviously, on an asphalt road, a truck will go faster than a tank. a truck turns as its steering wheel turns, but turning is fairly difficult for a tank, and sometimes it must turn a little and then stop, slowly repeating this process in a seemingly clumsy fashion.

But if trucks and tanks compete in a cross-country race--as in Diagram 1--along a route that includes marshes, fields, and all sorts of obstacles, then the tank is the winner!

Why can the tanks forge ahead? The reason is that tanks can travel either on roads or off roads, and the worse the surface is, the faster they are as compared with trucks. This ability is derived from their mode of locomotion--the special feature of their driving parts. Naturally, there are many causes of this special feature, but here we will only discuss the tank's tracks.

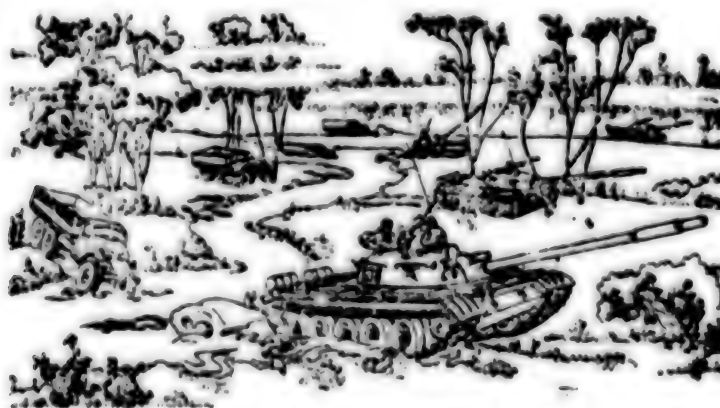


图1 坦克和汽车越野竞赛示意图

Figure 1. Tanks and trucks on a cross-country race.

The Track Is an Endless Belt for the Tank

Everybody would like to know how a tank is driven along its tracks. To explain this, we will first look at the driving parts. In Figure 2, we see five wheels attached to the tank's chassis (a total of 10 wheels attached on both sides of the tank). They are called road wheels. Some tanks have track wheels. The road wheels run on the track that is laid on the ground (the ground track), and the entire track forms a closed belt which we call the track belt. At the upper rear of the track belt is a cogwheel (there is also a cogwheel at the upper front of the track belt), and the axle of this wheel is turned by the power from the engine through the transmission gears. On the outside of the tank, the wheel's cogs mesh with the track so as to roll it up. This wheel is called the drive sprocket (or power sprocket). Opposite the drive sprocket on the same side of the tank is a cogwheel that guides and adjusts the track, and it is called the guide sprocket.

When the engine's power is transmitted to the drive sprocket—as in Figure 2--the drive sprocket rotates the track clockwise, and the ground track and the ground exert a force upon each other. By the principle of action and reaction of force, the track as it moves in a horizontal direction applies a force to the surface of the earth, which in turn imparts a reactive force to the track; this force is transmitted to the tank's body, becoming the propulsive force that makes the tank go forward. We call this the tank's traction power.

The motive power of the engine is transmitted continuously through the drive sprocket, which continuously rolls up the track. Therefore, while the tank is being pushed forward, on the one hand the track, rolled up by the guide sprocket, is spread on the ground and also is pressed forward under the road wheels; on the other hand, the track by the rear road wheel is then rolled up by the drive sprocket. In this way the track goes round and round, becoming an "endless belt" spread for the tank as it moves.

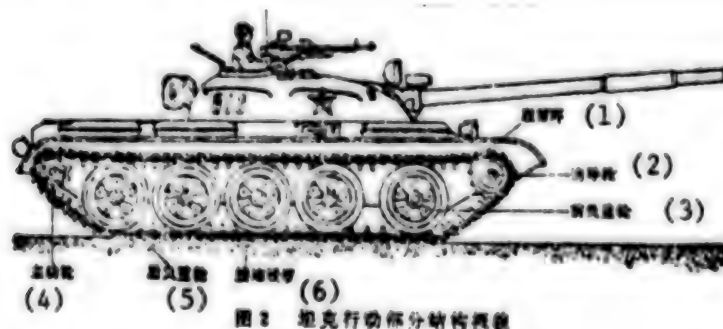


Figure 2. Structure of a Tank's Driving Parts.

KEY:

- (1) Track Belt
- (2) Guide Sprocket
- (3) Front Road Wheel
- (4) Drive Sprocket
- (5) Rear Road Wheel
- (6) Ground Track

Tracks Improve the Tank's Ability To Move Over Terrain

As we know, a truck will sink deep into marshes, fields, and soft, muddy ground, and then its wheels will spin on the slipper surface and it gets stuck, whereas a tank can move over the same terrain with relative ease. Why is it that a tank, weighing several tens of tons, can move over such terrain, while a truck, weighing only several tons, cannot?

Although a tank weighs much more than a truck, its tracks cover a much larger area than do the wheels of a truck (Figure 3). A vehicle's weight exerts what is known as ground pressure (the pressure exerted on a given unit area). A tank's ground pressure is much smaller than that of a truck, which, when carrying a normal load, has a ground pressure of about 1.5 to 2 kilograms per square centimeter. The maximum ground pressure of a tank is not more than 1 kilogram per square centimeter, about half that of a truck.

On soft ground, if the ground pressure is too great, on the one hand a vehicle will sink too much and scrape bottom (Figure 4), causing the wheels or tracks to slip; on the other hand, owing to the heavy ground pressure, the soil will be cut up and damaged severely, and the ground, under these conditions, will not provide enough traction. Because the area covered by a tank's tracks is large, the amount the tank will sink is reduced and the damage to the ground is lessened, greatly improving the tank's ability to move over such terrain. And the special pattern of the track's outside surface (its tread) allows the ground track to grip the ground firmly. Compared with the tires of a truck, the tracks of a tank do not slip easily and thus help to give a tank fairly large traction power.

Therefore, the tracks greatly improve a tank's ability to move over soft ground, and this without a doubt is extremely important for a tank's mobility.



图3 坦克和汽车的接地面积

Figure 3: The area of ground covered by a tank and a truck.

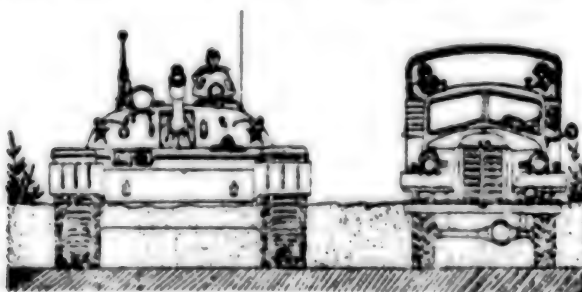


图4 坦克和汽车在松软泥泞地托底示意图

Figure 4. A tank and a truck scraping bottom on soft, muddy ground.

Tracks Improve a Tank's Ability To Cross Over Obstacles

By a tank's ability to cross over obstacles, we generally mean its ability to cross over natural or manmade obstacles such as steep slopes, ditches, walls, and shell craters.

A tank is a battle vehicle, and its ability to pass over these kinds of obstacles is naturally extremely important. In this respect, the tracks play an important role.

We will first consider a tank crossing a ditch (Figure 5).

If a tank tries to cross a ditch at very low speed, to be successful it obviously must maintain a stable support on the ground during the whole process. That is to say, when crossing the ditch the tank cannot pitch forward or fall back into the ditch. In this way, the tracks build a "temporary bridge" for the tank across the ditch. Before the front of the tank contacts the opposite bank of the ditch, the tank's center of gravity is still on the near bank; when the tank's center of gravity is on the opposite bank, the rear of the tank leaves the near bank and thus does not tumble into the ditch. In a word, with the stable support provided by the "temporary bridge" across both banks, the tank can, without danger of overturning, cross the ditch safely. We know from approximate engineering calculations that a tank can cross a ditch that is half as wide as the distance from the drive sprocket axle to the guide sprocket axle. The maximum width of a ditch that a tank can cross is over 3 meters, while the width of a ditch that can be crossed by a two-wheel drive truck is only about 80 percent of its wheel track. Obviously, a tank's ability to cross ditches is much greater.

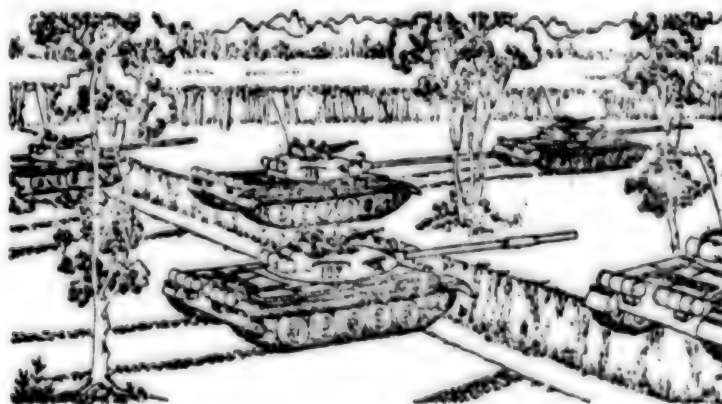


图5 坦克过壕沟

Figure 5. Tanks crossing a ditch.

How does a tank overcome the barrier of a vertical wall?

Looking at Diagram 6, we see that when the front of the tank presses against a vertical wall, the tread by the guide sprocket against the wall produces a mutually applied force (in the same way as does the ground track along the road wheels against the ground), the tread applying a downward force and the wall an upward

counterforce. The raising of the front of the tank caused by this counterforce impels the tank to climb the wall. In addition, while the tank is in contact with the wall the driver quickly opens the engine throttle and the tank suddenly accelerates like a truck. Just as the passengers in a car are thrust backward from the force of inertia when the car suddenly accelerates, the force of inertia helps the tank to raise its front end. With the effect of the momentum to raise its front end, the tank's treads lay down a track by which it can climb the wall. When the tank's center of gravity is over the edge of the wall, the tank begins to tip toward the ground. The driver then applies the brakes to the tracks and the tank falls smoothly to the level part of the ground. A tank can climb a wall close to 1 meter high; a two-wheel drive truck can only cross a wall whose height is 30 percent of its wheel tracks, and before a vertical surface 1 meter high it sees only a "wall"!

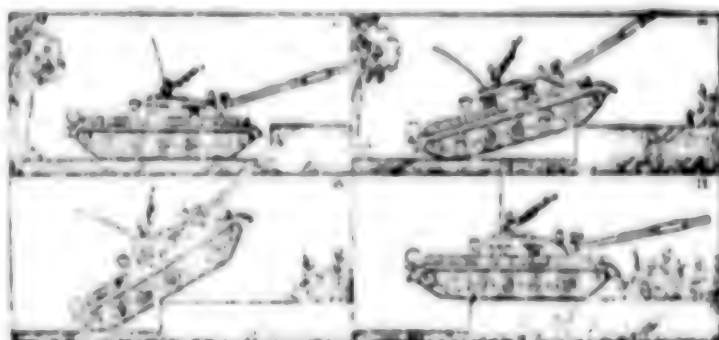


图6 坦克克服垂直障碍的过程

Figure 6. The process by which a tank overcomes the barrier of a vertical wall.

The Era of Tracks

After the above discussion, it is not hard for us to understand that, on the one hand, owing to a tank's protective armor and the heavy weapons with which it is fitted, the weight of a tank far exceeds that of a truck, while on the other hand, under wartime conditions, a tank's movement across country is both difficult and complicated. Therefore, the "endless belt" provided by its tracks is truly important. Moreover, owing to the fact that the tank has an engine with a lot of horsepower, and its driving parts are fairly elaborate, its ability to move across country on its tracks is brought into play even more fully.

Therefore, even if one track is heavier than several truck wheels and its cost is much higher, it is also even if that makes the tank's suspension system complex, it is still the main tracked battle vehicle of every country in the world today.

When the first vehicle track in the world appeared at the end of the 18th century, it was made of wood. Tracks have been used on battle vehicles for less than 100 years, but the tracks today have already been developed into an "endless belt" for battle vehicles that have been tested in war. Experience in structural form, materials, working processes, and use of tracks has continuously enriched the treasure house of battle vehicles.

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CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PUBLIC SECURITY OFFICIAL ON INCIDENCE OF ROBBERIES IN CAPITAL

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 31 Aug 80 p 2

[Article: "Cracking Down Sternly on Robbers, Protecting the People's Life and Property"]

[Text] Recently, Liu Hanchen [0491 3352 5256], deputy head of the Municipal Public Security Bureau, discussed with a reporter of this newspaper the question of cracking down on robbers.

Comrade Liu Hanchen first of all briefed the reporter on the current situation regarding public order in the capital. He said that since the smashing of the "gang of four," under the kind care of the Party Central Committee and the direct leadership of the Municipal Party Committee, all party members, government workers, militerymen, civilians, and students have mobilized to energetically rectify public order, and that we have already begun to see results. The situation with regard to public order has taken a turn for the better, and the number of criminal cases has fallen year after year: 11.4 percent lower in 1978 than in 1977, and 23.1 percent lower in 1979 than in 1978. In the first half of this year, the public order situation in the capital took a further turn for the better, with the number of criminal cases being 19 percent lower than in the second half of last year, but the current situation is still fairly far from that called for by the directives of the central authorities and by the demands of the masses. There are still fairly many criminal cases, especially the critically harmful cases of robbery that still occur. Although the number of robberies is not very big when compared to the total number of crimes, their harm is serious and their effect is very bad. Often, when one person is robbed, everybody is uneasy; when one household is robbed, its near neighbors are affected. This is an outstanding problem that affects public order in the capital.

When analyzing the reasons why robberies are still committed in recent times, he said that, looking at them in general, they are direct evil consequence upon certain teenagers of the pernicious influence and effect of the slogan "Beating, smashing, and looting are justified" during the period when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running wild. During the 10 years of calamity, not only were beating, smashing, and looting not criminal acts but, on the contrary, they were lauded by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" as "revolutionary actions." Since the smashing of the "gang of four," although a great amount of work has been done, their pernicious influence and effect are still far from being eliminated. This is the main reason why robberies are still being committed. Next, our crackdown on robbers has not been sufficiently timely and powerful, and there has been insufficient propaganda focused on the legal system. This is another reason for the robberies committed at present.

Continuing, he concretely explained what a robbery is and why robbers are severely dealt with by the law. He said that, according to the provisions of our country's penal code, robbery is defined as the act of possessing or taking charge of property by force, coercion, or other methods in which public or private property is stolen and kept in the perpetrator's possession. Force is defined as a violent act such as beating, tying up, wounding, or killing the victim, compelling the victim to immediately hand over property, or stealing the victim's property and running away. Coercion is defined as using the threat of force to compel the victim to hand over his property. The other methods are to use liquor or drugs to dope the victim and then steal his property and flee.

Robbery not only directly harms public or private property but it frequently endangers the victim's life or health, very easily having the serious consequence of injuring or killing the victim, and it is one of the several major crimes stipulated in our country's penal code which should be sternly cracked down on. Article 150 of our country's "Criminal Code" stipulates: "Robbing public or private property by force, coercion, or other methods is punishable by not less than 3 or more than 10 years' imprisonment....In Serious circumstance, or if somebody is badly injured or killed, the punishment is 10 or more years' imprisonment, life imprisonment, or death, and in addition the perpetrator's property can be confiscated."

In conclusion, Comrade Liu Hanchen pointed out that, in the most recent period, following the gradual strengthening of the socialist legal system, there has been a daily increase in the number of fine people and fine deeds in which the masses and the victims of robberies have cooperated with the public security organs in apprehending robbers. We have warned all criminals that they must rein in at the brink of the precipice and stop doing evil. We have strong political and legal organizations, and the masses of people have a high degree of awareness, so that no criminal can escape the net of the people's justice. If a criminal dares to defy the law, he will certainly fall into the masses' dragnet and be severely punished by the legal system.

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CSC: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

A DISCUSSION ON PLANNING POPULATION GROWTH

Changchun JILIN SHIDA XUEBAO (ZHEXUE SHEHUI KEXUE BAN) [JOURNAL OF JILIN NORMAL UNIVERSITY (PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES ISSUE)] in Chinese No 2, 1980 pp 17-22

[Article by Han Mingxi [7281 2494 1585] and Wang Shuxin [3769 3219 7451]]

[Text] In his "government work report" at the 2d conference of the 5th People's Congress, Premier Hua listed further effort on planned parenthood and earnest control of population growth as 1 of the 10 tasks of China's development of the national economy today. Population growth planning is an extremely important issue in the socialist construction. With the shift of the emphasis of the party's work to the socialist modernization construction, the conscientious solution of this issue in theory and in practice has become even more important. In this article, a superficial exposition on the objective necessity of population growth planning and its relationship with the four modernizations is attempted.

I

As we must act according to the objective economic laws when developing the socialist economy, we must do the same when developing the socialist population, for otherwise we will be punished by the objective laws. Therefore, in the course of our four modernization construction, we must observe not only all the socialist economic laws, but also the law of the development of the socialist population. Population growth planning is the objective requirement of the socialist population law.

According to Marxism, the law of population is a law determined by the social production pattern, not by abstract biological or natural laws. In "Das Kapital," Marx pointed out clearly: "In fact, each special historical production pattern has its special historical and operational population law. Abstract population law only exists in the animal and plant world which has not encountered historical interferences."¹ Lenin also told us unequivocally: "We

should not study population 'abstractly' in disregard of the different kinds of social structural forms in history."² Therefore, we must not study the socialist population law apart from the socialist production pattern and economic system. Nor must we lump together socialist and capitalist population laws.

Marx gave us a shining model in his study of the population law of the capitalist society. Under the capitalist condition founded on the production means private ownership system, the demand for labor force is not determined by the total capital, but by the ratio of the variable capital in the total capital. Therefore, with the rise in the organic composition of capital, an ever greater portion of capital is converted into production means, while the portion converted into labor force relatively decreases, thereby relatively reducing the demand for labor force. Therefore, the large increase in labor force accompanying the development of capitalism cannot be absorbed by capital. When the supply exceeds the demand, the inevitable result is large unemployment, or relative surplus population. For this reason, Marx declared resolutely: "While producing capital accumulation, the worker population also creates its own relative surplus population by means of the ever expanding scale of production."³ This is the population law unique with the capitalist production pattern."

The socialist revolution and the creation of the socialist production relationship forced the capitalist population law to withdraw from the arena of history, and the socialist population law began to produce an effect. On the population development of a socialist society, Engels predicted that, in a communist society (including both the rudimentary and the advanced stages), people would be able to adjust the production of man in a planned way similar to the planned adjustment of production. In his article entitled "to Karl Kautsky," he pointed out: "If it is said that the communist society, at a certain time in the future, will have to adjust the production of man similar to the production of things, then, precisely such a society, and only such a society, can accomplish it without the least difficulty."⁴ In his intensive analysis of China's socialist economic relationship and the population situation, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out even more clearly that, in the past, "mankind was in a completely anarchist state on parenthood, unable to control itself," and that the socialist society must "gradually attain universal planned parenthood."⁵ These important expositions profoundly revealed the inevitability and necessity of the planned development of population in a socialist society, thereby pointing out that population growth planning is the objective demand of socialist population development.

The creation of the socialist economic system has made population growth planning necessary and feasible. The socialist economic system is built on the foundation of the production means public ownership system, which makes it possible to organize and direct the planned and proportionate development of the entire national economy. Meanwhile, the planned development of the national economy includes the planned production of man himself as well as the material means.

First, let us look at the issue in terms of man as the producer. Man as the producer refers to that part of the people with labor capacity which can take part in social production, viz., the social labor force. They are the direct participants in the production of material means and constitute the indispensable factor in social production. Therefore, to guarantee the planned development of the production of material means in the entire society, we must provide, in a planned way, laborers with socialist awareness and culture to the various units of the national economy, in order to assure a balance in the demand and supply of labor force. This calls for the planned development of population. We know that, for man to grow from birth into a social labor force, a very long time is required. The new labor force today is determined by the number of births more than a decade ago, while the number of births today will determine the scale of the new labor force more than a decade hence. Therefore, to adapt the development of the labor force with that of the national economy, we must regulate the scale and speed of population growth in a planned way, so that the development of the national economy will not be affected by labor shortage, and nor will we encounter difficulties in disposition due to sudden increases in labor force. Therefore, the planned development of the production of material means calls for the planned development of the production of man himself, and a necessary proportion must be maintained between the two, before we can guarantee the planned and proportionate development of the national economy.

Next, let us look at the issue in terms of man as the consumer. Man as the consumer refers to the fact that the entire population needs living means, including those without labor capacity as well as those with labor capacity. Under the socialist condition, the goal of production is to satisfy the people's growing material and cultural needs. Meanwhile, the content and the amount of such needs of the people are not only determined by the total population, but also by its age and sex compositions. Therefore, the size of the population, population growth and the sex and age compositions will directly influence the production planning of consumer means. To satisfy the continuously growing material and cultural needs of the people, while developing the production of material means in a planned way, the production of man himself must also develop in a planned way.

In short, under the socialist condition founded on the production means public ownership system, whether man as the producer or man as the consumer, population growth must be adapted to the planned development of the production of material means. We can thus see that population planning has become the objective law for the development of the socialist population.

In terms of its concrete content, the socialist population law requires the proper handling of the following proportionate relationships:

1. Population and Labor Force. The planned and proportionate development of the national economy requires a definite amount of labor force adapted to such development. Under a given level of production force, insufficient labor force will fail to satisfy the need of expanded reproduction. On the other

hand, excess labor force will be detrimental to the planned and proportionate development of the national economy. Yet labor force is a part of the total population. Maturing from infancy, it again turns into non-labor force when it finally loses its labor capacity. Therefore, it is always a definite proportion of the population. To increase labor force, the population must increase; to reduce labor force, the population must decrease. Therefore, to adjust the labor force and the national economy, the total population and labor force must maintain a certain proportionate relationship.

2. Population and Production Means. Social production requires both production means and labor force, yet labor force only becomes real when the laborer and production means are combined, because only such combination will produce material assets and truly realize the function of man as the producer. To realize the planned and proportionate development of the national economy, while developing and improving the scale and quality of production means in a planned way, we must provide, also according to plan, a certain amount of labor force existing in the population. Therefore, a certain proportionate relationship must be maintained among labor force, the population and the production means. However, this does not mean that the speed of their development must be the same. The development of socialist production mainly relies on using advanced modern technological equipment and raising the scientific and cultural levels of the laborers, enlarging the range and scale of the technological equipment of each and every laborer so as to improve labor productivity continuously. The more advanced the modernization of production, the more will be the technological equipment required by each labor force and the higher will be the quality standard, thereby relatively reducing the number of laborers. Under ordinary conditions, the growth of the labor population should be slower than the increase of production means, manifested in the continuous improvement of the technological composition. This is the inevitable tendency of the development of modern production.

3. Population and Consumer Means. Whether laborers or non-laborers, all require a certain amount of consumer means to survive and develop. Meanwhile, the amount, quality and scope of consumption are not only mainly determined by the amount, quality and scope of consumer means furnished by the production of material means, but also closely linked with the size, composition and rate of growth of the population. Where the consumer means is fixed, the larger the population and the faster its growth, the lower will be the average consumption standard; vice versa, the higher will be the average consumption standard. Therefore, we must raise the people's living standard on the foundation of the continuous development of the production of material means and maintain an appropriate ratio between the size of the population and the living means.

4. Population and Reserve. The expansion of socialist production requires the continuous growth of the socialist reserve, while the only source of reserve is the new value created annually by the various material production units, i.e., the national income. The annual national income must not be entirely placed in reserve, and a consideration portion must be used directly for living needs. Therefore, the planned and proportionate development of socialist production

requires the correct handling of the relationship between consumption and reserve, while population planning is the prerequisite for such correct handling. Where the national income is fixed, for the population development to conform to the demand of the planned and proportionate development of the national economy, a slower population growth, generally speaking, will, on the foundation of maintaining a relatively high reserve level, assure the gradual improvement of the people's living standard; vice versa, not only a relatively high reserve level cannot be maintained, but the general improvement of the people's living standard cannot be assured. Therefore, to increase the reserve continuously while assuring the gradual improvement of the people's living standard, a certain proportion must be maintained between population and reserve.

In short, these proportionate relationships constitute the concrete content of the socialist population law. They reflect the demand of the fundamental socialist economic law and the planned and proportionate development of the national economy and embody the substance and characteristics of the socialist population development. Only the conscientious and proper handling of such relationships will make population growth and the planned and proportionate development of the national economy adapted to each other, thereby promoting the rapid development of the socialist production.

II

The socialist system creates the condition for the emergence and operation of the socialist population law. In other word, the socialist condition provides us with the possibility to regulate by planning the production of man himself and make population growth and the increase in material production adapted to each other. Due to Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" interference and disruption, the population of our country, for a considerable period of time, grew without restraint. The 540 plus million (excluding Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan and the overseas Chinese; the same for below) population of our country in 1949 has now reached more than 970 million, and approximately 600 million, or 63 percent, were born after liberation. The natural population growth rate averages 2 percent annually. The net gain for the 30 years is 420 plus million, or 78 percent. While the annual average growth rate is 2 percent, it was around 2.5 percent for many years. Between 1966 and 1971, the rate was 2.6 percent, or an annual gain of 20 million.

Marxism opposes the population determinism of the bourgeoisie, viz., that population growth is the decisive factor for social development, but it does not negate the promotive and retardant effects of population growth on social development. Under the concrete condition of our country, we must admit that the excessive population growth has affected the development of socialist construction, especially today when the people of the whole country are marching toward the four modernizations. It has become a sharp contradiction with the four modernizations, which is glaringly manifested in the following aspects:

1. Excessive Population Growth and Accelerating Accumulation. The large amount of money needed for our socialist construction must mainly depend on our own accumulation, and the major way to accomplish this is to develop production at a high speed and increase the national income. Under the fixed growth rate of industrial and agricultural production and national income, the scale and speed of reserve accumulation, to a large extent, are conditioned by the scale and speed of population growth. China's average national income per capita is among the lowest in the world. When the production force is low, it is impossible for the reserve level to be high, because the national income, after satisfying the basic living needs of the population, leaves very little surplus. Computed at the minimum living standard, raising the population born after liberation until age 16 required 1,330 plus billion yuan, or 31 percent of the cumulative total of the national income since liberation. Approximately 30 percent of such expenses was paid by the state and the collectives and a little over 70 percent by the families. Thus computed, the state and the collectives paid out 400 billion yuan to raise the 600 million population. This figure is equivalent to one-third of the cumulative reserve since liberation. When the consumption of the existing population is taken into account, the part of the national income which can be used as reserve can be figured out.

Today, China's population is greater than before. If population growth is not strictly controlled, the number of births per annum hereafter will be larger than before. The overwhelming majority of those born between now and the end of this century will require funds for their upbringing and consume large quantities of social assets, which will doubtlessly seriously affect the accumulation of construction funds.

2. Excessive Population Growth and Improving the Scientific and Cultural Levels of the Entire Nation. Improving the scientific and cultural levels of the entire nation is the objective demand of the four modernizations. The key to the four modernizations is the modernization of science and technology, which requires the training, within this century, of a large group of workers, and peasants and intellectuals equipped with modern scientific and technical knowledge, able to employ advanced technology and manage modern industry and agriculture, including a large group of scientists, engineers, technicians and management cadres of the world advanced level. For this reason, we must vigorously develop education. However, China's foundation is weak and the annual education appropriations are very limited, while the number of scientific and cultural talents to be trained is considerably large. Thus emerges a great contradiction. According to statistics, currently in our country, 6 percent of the school age children cannot attend school, 12 percent of the elementary school graduates cannot enter junior middle school, over 50 percent of the junior middle school graduates cannot enter senior middle school, and 95 percent of the senior middle school graduates cannot go to college. One important reason for the backwardness of education is excessive population growth. If population growth is not vigorously controlled today, the task of universal education will be even more arduous and the work of training advanced personnel will encounter grave obstacles.

3. Excessive Population Growth and Employment. To develop his role as a producer, man must be combined with production means. If we have only labor force, but not adequate tools and objects of labor for its use, the development of production will be retarded. After liberation, our country basically eliminated the unemployed population left down by the old China. However, due to excessive population growth, the burden of placing the new labor force is becoming ever heavier.

In urban areas, to employ 1 million people, computed according to a very low technical equipment level per industrial worker in our country today, i.e., 10,000 yuan, will require correspondingly 10 billion yuan of new fixed assets. From 1952 to 1977, the annual new fixed assets averaged around 15 billion yuan, and those since 1973 was only a little over 20 billion yuan. Take 1973 for instance: Besides a part of the funds spent on improving the technical equipment of the existing laborers, very little was left for placing the new labor force. Currently in our country, the number of people in cities and towns awaiting employment is considerable, thus creating the contradiction between the urban labor force and its employment capacity. In rural employment, close to 90 percent of the annual new labor force is placed in rural areas. Even though agricultural production is still basically by manual labor, the current labor force is already in a state of saturation. China's population constitutes approximately 1/4 of the world total, while its cultivated area is only 7 percent. The average cultivated area per capita has reduced from 3 mu at the beginning of liberation to 1.5 mu. Computed according to the agricultural labor force, the average per capita is only 5 mu, which ranks among the lowest in the world. Even in Japan, where the average cultivated area per capita is only 0.7 mu, that per agricultural labor force is 13 mu. In America, each agricultural labor force averages 1,000 mu of cultivated area, which is 200 times that of our country. China's excessive population growth, large labor force and small cultivated area inevitably form a contradiction. In short, whether in terms of urban or rural areas, if population growth is not controlled, the pressure and difficulties of employment will aggravate.

4. Excessive Population Growth and Improving the People's Living Standard. The goal of socialist production is to continuously satisfy the people's growing material and cultural needs, while the extent of such satisfaction is determined, on the foundation of production development, by the proportion between the rate of increase of consumer fund and that of population growth. According to statistics, in the 25 years between 1953 and 1977, our consumer fund increased 2.8 times while the population grew 66.7 percent, resulting in an increase of only 1.3 times in the average consumption per capita. Due to the excessive population growth, 58 percent of the annual new consumer fund is spent on the need of the new population, and only 42 percent is left for improving the consumption level of the existing population. After liberation, our grain output increase, compared with before liberation, has not been small. According to statistics, our 1977 output was 565.5 billion jin, an increase of 97 percent over the 287.4 billion jin of 1952. However, due to the excessive population growth, the average per capita rose from 510 to only 598 jin, an increase of only 80 plus jin. The increase in the absolute amount of our light industrial products after liberation has been considerable but, due

to excessive population growth, the average per capita is very little. As for housing, communication, medical care, service and cultural and recreational facilities, due to excessive population growth, they are far behind the need.

In view of the above, we can clearly see that extremely sharp contradictions exist between China's excessive population growth and the four modernizations. One may say that if we do not control population growth by planning, we will not be able to promote the realization of the four modernizations. To realize the four modernizations as soon as possible, we must, while vigorously developing the socialist production, control population growth by planning, i.e., tackling both kinds of production together. It is a task with a momentous strategic significance confronting the people of the entire country.

III

To start from the practical conditions of our country and control population growth consciously, on a long term basis and in a planned way, the central government proposed the goal of zero for the natural growth rate by the end of the century, viz., no growth. To attain this goal, the first step is to strive to reduce the natural growth rate from 2 percent to around 0.5 percent by 1985; the second step is to reduce it to zero by the year 2000, the end of the century. This is a goal which is concretely feasible as well as positively progressive in conjunction with China's reality and the current and long range interests of the people of the entire country.

The difficulties in realizing this goal proposed by the central government are great. Besides the fact that China's birth rate has dropped from 4 percent in the past to 1.834 percent and it will be difficult to accomplish large scale sustained reduction on this foundation, and the fact that our rural population constitutes more than 80 percent of the total and population control in rural areas is generally more difficult than in the cities, there are 2 even more difficult problems:

1. China's population base is too large. Even if the birth rate in the future drops rapidly, the annual births will still come to a considerable figure. When the natural growth rate is 1 percent, for instance, the annual net gain will be close to 10 million and the number of births will be 16 to 17 million.
2. In the remaining 20 years of this century, there may possibly be another peak in births. In the 30 years since the founding of the nation, there were several peaks in births, creating the age groups of 1954 to 1957 and 1962 to 1971 which, according to statistics, were several million to 10 million more a year than other periods. Before the end of the century, they will successively reach the age of marriage and childbearing, thus the possibility of a new peak in births.

These two problems have a great impact on China's population growth tendency. Recently, several natural science and social science workers jointly made many projections to forecast China's population growth in the 100 years hereafter (figures for Taiwan temporarily unavailable; same for below). To explain the issue, I cite three of the projections:

(1) If the average birth rate (average number of births per woman of child-bearing age) from this year on is 3, which is to maintain the 1975 birth level, by the year 2000, the end of the century, the national population will rise to 1.414 billion. By the year 2080, i.e., 100 years hence, the figure will rise to 4.260 billion, almost equivalent to the world total of 1979. (2) If the average birth rate from this year on is 2, i.e., universal practice of "2 births," by the end of the century, the national population will rise to 1.217 billion. When the peak is reached in 2052, the total population will be 1.539 billion, and will drop to 1.472 billion 100 years later. (3) If the average birth rate drops noticeably beginning with this year and reduces to 1 by 1985, and if "1 birth" is universally practiced from 1985 on, by the time of the peak in 2004, the national population will be 1.054 billion. It will only begin to drop after 2005, and will reduce to 370 million 100 years later.

The first and second projections indicate that, if we do not adopt effective measures starting from now, China's population growth, whether by the end of the century or 100 years hence, will be quite startling. The third projection indicates that, if we adopt firm measures and realize "1 birth" as soon as possible, the natural growth rate of China's population will drop to zero by the end of the century, viz., no growth, and the total population will not exceed 1.1 billion. Thereafter, with the development of population inertia, the tendency of population reduction will follow, and we will thereby gain the initiative in population growth control.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," vol 23 p 692
2. "Complete Works of Lenin," vol 1 p 430
3. "Das Kapital," vol 1, "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," vol 23 p 692
4. "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," vol 35 p 145
5. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 5 p 471

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

POLITICS, INFLUENCE OF LITERATURE AND ART, DISCUSSED

Baotou BAOTOU WENYI[BAOTOU LITERATURE AND ART] in Chinese No 4, Jul 80 pp 32-35

[Article by Ai Yin [5337 5593] and Du Zhong [2629 0112]: "Study Notes on the Relationship Between Politics and Literature and Art"]

[Text] In recent times, literature and art circles and academic circles throughout the country have developed extremely enthusiastic discussions on the question of the relationship between politics and literature and art. Although this is an important theoretical question, it is also an urgent question of creative practice, and has a bearing on the prospering or failure, and even the survival, of our literature and art.

(1) Literature and Art Are Not Subordinate to Politics.

The fact is that Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Mao Zedong all provided very clear expositions on the question of the relationship between politics and economics and between politics and literature and art, etc.

In the "Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels pointed out: "The principal forms of economic production and forms of exchange in any given historical period, as well as the social structures that must be produced by these, are the foundation upon which that period's political and spiritual history depends upon, and it is only by starting from this foundation that this history can be explained."¹

From Marx's and Engels' joint establishment and affirmation, and Engels' later reaffirmation of this principle, we get a glimpse that the politics and literature and art (the history of spiritual images) of a given age are determined by the economic foundation of that age and are mutually related through it. Moreover, the economic foundations of a given period are the foundation upon which that period's literature and art (particularly the social content of the literature and art) are established, and a scientific explanation of them can only be arrived at by starting from this foundation. This is a truth that Marx and Engels tested and verified in social practice again and again. However, what does the literature and art produced by that period (the history of spiritual images) have to do with the economic foundations that produced it?

First, when the principal forms of economic production and forms of exchange of a given period, as well as the social structures that must be produced by them die out, the politics that represent this economic foundation die out along with them,

but the literature and art that have been established on the basis of them are not lost with them, and especially that literature and art that represents that period's historical spirit and historical style and features can have great vitality. The countless chapters of the "Book of Songs," "Li Sao," "Annals of History," the Han ballads, the Tang poetry, the Song odes, and the Ming and Qing novels, because of their portrayal of a deathless democratic spirit, have become a part of the wealth in the proletarian cultural treasure house, and have a fresh vitality. It is just in this manner that reading "Li Sao" today gives the reader a spirit of breaking with the old and exploring the new. As Lenin put it, "Within the culture of every race, even though undeveloped, there are components of democracy and socialism, because there are laboring masses and exploited masses in every race, and their living conditions necessarily produce democratic and socialistic thought systems,"² as well as "The proletarian culture ought to be produced according to specifications by the whole knowledge created by mankind's being oppressed by the capitalist society, the landlord society, and the bureaucratic society. All of these large and small avenues, whether past, present, or future, open into proletarian culture."³ This thesis is the scientific thesis that explains the undying vitality of this phenomenon of literature and art.

Second, new factors have already been produced in the principal forms of economic production and forms of exchange of that period, and before the social structure (including politics) necessarily produced by these new economic factors appears, the new period of these new factors is represented by literature and art that has already germinated. This is the "seed of a future superstructure" that men have spoken of. "Dream of the Red Chamber" is an example of this phenomenon that people often enjoy. During the Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong periods, it is true that the silk industry was quite well-established in the Suzhou and Hangzhou areas, and there were already the seeds of new capitalist production relations in China, but the principal forms of economic production and forms of exchange in that period, as well as the social structure produced by them, had still not changed much, so there was still no capitalist politics nor capitalist social structure, but in "Dream of the Red Chamber," there was already the progressive ideology of advocacy of equality and brotherhood, and opposition to the establishment of an autocracy. Further, "Li Sao," produced in the period of the warring kingdoms, had already predicted that China's system of slavery would surely disintegrate, and that historical trends would produce feudalism, and at that time the entire area of the superstructure had produced no feudal politics, laws, etc. Because of this, the world significance of Zhu Yuan lies in the fact that he was the last poet of China's slavery period and the first poet of China's feudal period.

Obviously, in the whole realm of the superstructure, literature and art, and politics, are alike subordinate to ideological categories, and each has its own independence and characteristic functions that are not mutually interchangeable. Not only is the relationship between them not one of politics leading literature and art, and of literature and art being subordinate to politics in a kind of extremely vulgar cancellation of the independence of literature and art, reducing it to a distorted relationship as the servant of politics, but on the contrary, literature and art are the most sensitive, the keenest, and the most novel in that it is not only ahead of philosophy and religion, but is also ahead of politics in representing new changes in the economic foundations.

Third, based on the basic characteristics of literature and art, is to "use the forms of literature and art to make an image" of the writer's experience through thinking in terms of images, and because of this, when representing the economic foundations on which it relies, it has an extremely vivid, rich, and moving quality. Because of this richness, the pictures it provides of life and society describe a much broader world than do its sister components of the superstructure such as politics, philosophy, and religion. In expounding on the writings of Balzac, Engels said, "In 'Comédie Humaine,' he has given us a slice of French society, particularly the 'polite society' of Paris, in a remarkably realistic history, he has used the chronicle form to describe, almost year by year, the increasing assaults by the rising bourgeoisie on the aristocratic society of that time, ... he has gathered the whole history of French society into the confines of this picture, and the things I learn from this, even the particulars of economics (such as the redistribution of personal property and real property after the revolution) is far more than what I am able to learn from all the professional historians, economists, and statisticians of that time."² It was also because of this that Lenin regarded Tolstoy's writings on peasant life under the patriarchal system on the eve of the Russian revolution as a "one-sided mirror" of the Russian revolution.

From this we see that that view that literature and art can only have an effect on the economic foundation through politics is contrary to objective reality. Literature and art and politics are all subordinate to the economic foundation, and they all are able to serve, independently and dynamically, in the establishment of the economic foundation. Therefore, the ruling class in any age regards literature and art and politics as the two strongest measures for stabilizing the economic foundation upon which they depend for survival, and the terms "culture worship" (meaning not only literature and art, but also the transformation of cultural education), "declaration of arms" (arms being the highest and strongest manifestation of politics), "attention to civil affairs," "attention to military affairs," "the way of civil and military" is one of tension alternating with relaxation," etc. are proof of the history of the victory of this administering the country and maintaining class rule.

(2) Literature and Art Have a Great Influence on Politics.

From ancient times to the present, all the artistic practice of literary craftsmen both in China and abroad proves that those works that stir man's souls and are passed down without losing their freshness are those that are in sympathy with the people and are deeply concerned with the age, and which intensely affect politics--these are the ones that have a great influence on politics.

The famous chronicles in the Spring and Autumn Annals record, in the period of the decadence of the slave system, the unusual political circumstances of the country, the peculiar family customs, the assassination of 36 princes, the conquest of 52 states and the accompanying confusion, and having the enormous social effect that is described in the literature as "Confucius, in writing the Spring and Autumn Annals, threw officials into panic and caused thieves to feel dread," this became the earliest example of literature and art (historical literature) having an effect on politics and the political situation. Confucius said, "The Odes serve to stimulate the mind. They may be used for purposes of self-contemplation. They teach the art of amiability. They show how to regulate feelings of resentment. From

them you learn the more immediate duty of serving one's father, and the remoter one of serving one's prince."⁶ Obviously, through poetry (literature and art), we can stir up morale (stimulate), know the society (self-contemplation), unite the masses (sociability), criticize the court administration (resentment), and achieve the objective of "serving one's father" and "serving one's prince." It seems that even Confucius and Laozi, more than 2,000 years ago, understood the tremendous influence and effect of literature and art on politics.

This enormous social function of literature and art was understood as high up as the emperor and as low down as the common people and is used as a matter of course without being established: "Through style, the superiors transform the subordinates, and through style, the subordinates satirize the superiors."⁷ This is the evidence. Moreover, the ruling classes of all dynasties adopted advanced measures through literature and art and a recognition of political gains and losses to stabilize their own rule. This is what the "Book of Odes" spoke of as "At news of peace and prosperity, we take pleasure in tranquility, and that is proper administration; at news of turmoil, we are resentful to the point of anger, and that is perverse administration; at news that the state has been destroyed, we think of our grief, and that is misery for the people." During the reign of King Zhou, "The emperor went on one tour of inspection in 5 years, and ordered the great master to contemplate the people's customs in a poem,"⁸ and this is another example. "In ancient times there were officials who collected poetry, and because of this the king was able to contemplate the customs of the people, know of the gains and losses, and examine the evidence for himself."⁹ It can be seen that there is almost nothing that is impossible, from participating in government affairs to managing foreign affairs; from morale and ethics to natural science; from distinguishing between the true and the false in the sentiments of the people and the gains and losses to the national government to handling husbands and wives, governing the state, establishing universal education, and enriching human relations. This is what Liu Xie meant when he wrote, "How great a virtue is the practice of literature!"¹⁰ It really is a "great undertaking in management of the nation, a great event that will not fade."¹¹

In his whole life, Bai Juyi, the great realistic poet of the middle Tang period, wrote more than 170 allegorical poems to expose the politics and society of that time, from the Emperor Xianzong at the top, to the influential officials in the middle, to the corruption and reactionary rule of the impoverished officials at the bottom, especially concentrated in the series of 50 poems titled "The New Joyful Prefecture," written in the fourth year of the Yuanhe reign, and in which his trenchant brush could cause the influential officials to "become angry at the sight of him,"¹² and it certainly could not be denied that this was a great and astonishing political gift. Literature has the utilitarian objective of transforming society. When Bai Juyi advocated "The power to punish evil and urge goodness is exercised in the writer's appraisal, and the reason for re-examining gains and losses lies between the pleasing jabs of the poet,"¹³ he meant that the poet must "simultaneously serve the whole world," explaining that the lofty ambition he had undertaken encompassed the whole world.

Naturally, when we talk of the great influence of literature and art on politics, we should also say that politics has a similar great influence on literature and art. Moreover, since politics is the most concentrated expression of economics, it is also the location of the core of the superstructure, and because of this,

this influence that politics exercises over literature and art is made more strongly and profoundly apparent:

First, it can help to bring about the flowering of literature and art in a given age. The existence of the "Book of Songs," the "Songs of Chu," the Han ballads, the Han prose poems, the Fujian-Anhui literature, the Han and Tang murals, the Wei and Tang stone carvings, the Tang poetry, the Song odes, the Yuan songs, and the Ming and Qing novels, is of course the inevitable outcome of trends in the internal development of literature and art, but at the same time, they were largely determined by the vivid and vigorous political situation of the age they occurred in, or took strength from the encouragement of the rulers, or thrived and generated a democratic vitality under oppressive politics, all of which are important factors in forming the literature and art of an age. Liu Xie said: "The unity and coherence of folk songs is in that they evolve with the era, moved by the winds above and shaken by the waves below." "Literary changes color the circumstances of an era; their rise and decline mark the chronology."¹⁴

Second, it bestows literature and art with an internal spirit. Works of literature and art that are produced in a given era and are outstanding enough to be passed down to later ages are always considered on the basis of their ideological and artistic accomplishments, and do not depart from this spirit. Of course, this includes works that oppose as well as those that support.

If we judge on the basis of what has been done in the modern proletarian struggles of the literary and artistic revolution, there is a mutual effect between literature and art and politics, a relationship of mutual influence that is expounded even more distinctly. Not only did Marx and Engels learn a great deal from the great realistic writers Balzac and Shakespeare, which helped them to dissect the process of capitalist development clearly and accurately, but Lenin also took Tolstoy's innumerable picture of Russian life as a mirror image of the proletarian revolution in Russia, and from it saw the direction the Russian revolution must take to obtain victory. In the brief 3 years from 1908-1911, he wrote seven critical essays on Tolstoy. From this number alone, it is sufficient to show what a great assistance Tolstoy's literary works were to Russian proletarian politics. It is just for this reason that everyone, from Marx and Engels to Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong, has a great regard for the importance of literature and art to the proletarian political struggle, and advocates "establish the party's literature," and "propose principles for the party's literature." At the same time, the leaders of the proletarian revolution have a great regard for the enormous effect of politics on literature, demanding that "literary affairs should be made a part of the total affairs of the proletariat, should be made a part of the nuts and bolts of the unified, great, social democratic machine that is operated by the vanguard with all the consciousness of the whole laboring class."¹⁵ This is the most obvious intervention of politics in literature. The aspiration of such intervention, insofar as it concerns a political party leading an intense revolutionary struggle, is correct, and is also necessary. However, it must be noticed that this expresses an intense aspiration and requirement on literature that functions outstandingly, causing it to have an even greater influence on politics, and absolutely does not reduce literature and art to a status of something subordinate to politics, neither is it what some metaphysicists understand it to be, politics ordering literature and art around like a slave, making literature and art "degenerate into a graph of

political slogans."¹⁶ When literature and art are forced to serve politics one-sidedly and too strongly, and especially serve certain specific policies of the moment, the result is that the works of literature and art do not proceed from life, but from a concept, the principal reasons for formalism and conceptualization of such works are things like "the main part should come first," and "write the central task, act the central task, sing the central task." It creates a situation where only political criteria are considered in literary and artistic criticism, neglecting the particular rules of literature and art themselves, neglecting the comparative independence of literature and art, and in analyzing a work, speaking only of the content and not of the art; requirements for political content also do not proceed from reality, but are required for the sake of politics and do not even hesitate to distort life, distort history, and other irregularities.

(3) Literature and Art Are Literature and Art

Conduct and politics are both subordinate to the literature and art of the superstructure's ideological realm, having their own irreplaceable characteristics and functions with regard to politics as well as other components.

The basic characteristic of literature and art is that they construct a diagram of social life with man as the center. For example, the "Comedie Humaine" of the world-famous Balzac modeled Pere Goriot and other characters full of flesh and blood and having distinct dispositions, and moreover represented the social life of France in the first half of the 19th century both broadly and deeply, and forcefully exposed the despicable incompetent changes in the upstart bourgeoisie, their repulsive features and mean spirits, representing the naked gold thread relationships between people in the bourgeois society.

The characteristic form of literature and art is that the artist, by thinking in terms of images, "concentrates these ordinary phenomena and typifies their internal struggles and contradictions."¹⁷ For example, when Lu Xun wrote "Ah Q," he focused on the characteristics of poor and miserable peasantry that suffers profound oppression under a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society and so demands revolution, and epitomized them in a vagrant farm laborer, an unaware peasant, making a profound representation of the weakness and tendency to compromise of China's bourgeoisie, and from this gave a true to life representation of the Chinese bourgeoisie's inability to lead the peasants in completing the democratic revolution.

Literature does not use reason to persuade people, it uses images to influence people. It relies on a calm spirit, the transformation of fish and dragons in the depths of the ocean, to mould people's sentiments.

Literature and art also have their own rules of development. Advocating "Shakespeare-ization" and being dissatisfied with "Schiller style,"¹⁸ that is, requiring that novels have some socialistic tendencies, is like this. Things must just be described truly through actual relationships, and even if "one's own standpoint is not made clear," nevertheless, it can still "completely fulfill one's own mission."¹⁹ What is advocated here is individualization of images, the description of liveliness of plot and colorful customs, political developments always through "sudden change" and "violent" activity, and relatively speaking, literature and

art are slow, proceeding deliberately, "warm, good, respectful, thrifty, and generous." Therefore, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Comrade Mao Zedong, in their brilliant essays on art, repeatedly warn us that we definitely cannot deny the characteristics of literature and art. Sometimes something like this happens, within one historical period of an era, the politics are corrupt, production does not develop, and literature and art flourish nevertheless, producing brilliant works, and this is determined by literature and art's own laws and rules.

In short, literature and art have an effect that politics cannot substitute for. The creative practice of outstanding masters of literature and art also makes this point clear. For example, in the Franco-Prussian war, France was defeated both politically and militarily and placed in a helpless situation, but Daudet was able, in writing "The Last Class," to generate such indignation at the devastation by the Prussian reactionary power that it raised a kind of unbending heroism among the French people, making us feel that a people like this could never be overcome by bayonets, cannons, or fascist politics, and this is a strong proof of this characteristic power of literature and art.

Also, because the effect of literature and art is different from political and military effects, the content of what it describes is much broader than the boundaries of what can be reached politically or militarily. This is what Engels was talking about when he said in 1859, with regard to the drama "Report on Monetary Relief," that writers ought to use their writing to "introduce the varied and splended society of the ordinary people of the time," write of the lives of the most ordinary masses, and that only in this way "could they provide a thoroughly valuable backdrop for actions of those nobles acting on the front of the stage, and only under these circumstances can the original aspect of these actions be made clear."²⁰

There are countless works of literature and art that serve to prove this outstanding thesis of Engels. China's "Dream of the Red Chamber," amidst its scribblings about the rise and fall of the Jia, Wang, Xue, and Shi families of nobles, also made a "flourishing age" of the Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong dynasties, and made people see the trends that would make China's feudal society of several thousand years collapse; in the depiction of the spirits of the sons and daughters, Jia Baoyu, Lin Daiyu, and Xue Baochai, etc., it teaches us to see, in the constrained tragedy, a kind of rebellious disposition with a new significance. Lu Xun's "Kong Yiji," "Benediction," and "Medicine" are all most vivid descriptions of the nature of those times, providing a vivid and valuable backdrop to Mr Sun Yat-sen's leadership of the old democratic revolution and allowing us to see, in Kong Yiji's actions, in what happened to Sister Xianglin, and in Old Chuan's failure to awaken, the original aspect of that failed revolutionary movement.

To sum up, we feel that the relationship between literature and art and politics is a thoroughly important and thoroughly complex problem. While emphasizing a heavy social effect for literature and art, we cannot overlook the intimate relationship between politics and literature and art and the great effect and influence of politics on literature and art. On the other hand, while stressing the importance of politics, we cannot ignore the unique effect and influence of literature and art on politics. Politics and literature and art are all subordinate to the ideological form of the superstructure, and there is no question between them of which is subordinate to which, nor is there any question of which can be substituted for which. The clarification of this dialectical relationship in which they are

opposed and are also unified has a crucial significance for the development and prospering of socialist literature and art. Therefore, we will not hide our own poor ideas, we will bring out those superficial viewpoints, we will cast a brick to attract jade, to encourage everyone to discuss this, and to solve as rapidly as possible this problem that has been tangled for a long time and urgently awaits clarification.

FOOTNOTES

1. Engels, "A Communist Manifesto, Foreword to the 1818 English Edition"
2. Lenin, "Critical Ideas on the Nationalities Question"
3. Lenin, "The Mission of the Youth League"
4. Gorky, "On the Techniques of Creation"
5. Engels, "Letter to Margaret Harkness"
6. "Analects--Yanghuo"
7. "Book of Odes--Preface"
8. "The Book of Rites--Royal Regulations"
9. "History of the Western Han Dynasty--Literary Annals"
10. Liu Xie, "Literary Debate--First Principles"
11. Cao Pi, "Canon of Discourse--Essay"
12. P'ai Chuyi, "A Grant of Nine Books"
13. Bai Chuyi, "The Writing-slip Forest"
14. Liu Xie, "Literary Debate--Chronology"
15. Lenin, "Party Organization and Party Literature"
16. Mao Dun, speech to the Third Members' Congress of the Chinese Writers' Association and China's Fourth Congress of Literature and Art Workers.
17. Mao Zedong, "Speech to the Yen'an Conference on Literature and Art"
18. Marx, "Letter to Ferdinand Lassalle"
19. Engels, "Letter to Minna Kautsky"
20. Engels, "Letter to Ferdinand Lassalle"

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